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USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 9, June 1983



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No 9. June 1983

Translations from the Russian-language theoretical organ of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).

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INFORMATION REPORT ON CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

LD141453 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian (signed to press 17 Jun 83) No 9, pp 3-4

[Text] A regular plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee began its work on 14 June 1983.

The meeting was opened by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Yu. V. Andropov.

A report, "Topical Questions of the Party's Ideological and Mass Political Work" was made at the plenum by Comrade K. U. Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary.

The speakers in the discussion of the report were Comrades V. V. Grishin, first secretary of the Moscow City CPSU Committee; D. A. Kunayev, first secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee; V. V. Shcherbitskiy, first secretary of the Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee; E. A. Shevardnadze, first secretary of the Communist Party of Georgia Central Committee; P. N. Demichev, USSR minister of culture; V. S. Chicherov, leader of a brigade of assembly workers of the "Leningradskiy Metallicheskiy Zavod" Turbine-Building Production Association; M. Z. Shakirov, first secretary of the Bashkir CPSU Obkom; A. P. Filatov, first secretary of the Novosibirsk CPSU Obkom; G. M. Markov, first secretary of the board of the USSR Writers Union; A. A. Yepishev, chief of the Main Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy; and A. E. Voss, first secretary of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee.

On 15 June, 1983, the CPSU Central Committee Plenum resumed the discussion of the report "Topical Questions of the Party's Ideological and Mass Political Work," delivered by K. U. Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary.

Yu. V. Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, made a lengthy speech at the Central Committee plenum.

Sh. R. Rashidov, first secretary of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan Central Committee; K. G. Vayno, Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee first secretary; P. N. Fedoseyev, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences; K. S. Demirchyan, Communist Party of Armenia Central Committee first secretary; S. G. Lapin, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Television and

Radio Broadcasting; M. A. Prokofyev, USSR Education Minister; L. A. Kulidzhanov, first secretary of the Board of the USSR Union of Filmmakers; S. A. Shalayev, AUCCTU chairman; and V. M. Mishin, Komsomol Central Committee first secretary, took part in the discussion on the report.

The CPSU Central Committee Plenum unanimously passed a decree on the item under discussion. The resolution is published in the press.

The CPSU Central Committee plenum examined organizational questions.

The CPSU Central Committee plenum elected Comrade G. V. Romanov CPSU Central Committee secretary and CPSU Central Committee Politburo member.

The CPSU Central Committee plenum endorsed Comrade M. S. Solomentsev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, as chairman of the Party Control Committee at the CPSU Central Committee.

The CPSU Central Committee plenum elected Comrade V. I. Vorotnikov candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

The CPSU Central Committee plenum promoted to full membership the following CPSU Central Committee candidate members: Comrade S. F. Akhromeyev, first deputy chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces; B. V. Balmont, minister of Machine-Tool Building and Instrument Making Industry; V. I. Kochemasov, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the USSR to the GDR; V. M. Cherdintsev, grain combine operator at the "Rassvet" Kolkhoz, Orenburg Oblast; and V. M. Shabanov, deputy defense minister of the USSR.

The CPSU Central Committee plenum removed N. A. Shchelokov and S. F. Medunov from the CPSU Central Committee for mistakes they had made in their work.

With this, the CPSU Central Committee plenum concluded its work.

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SPEECH BY YU. V. ANDROPOV, CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE GENERAL SECRETARY

PM152310 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian (signed to press 17 Jun 83) No 9, Jun 83
pp 4-16

[Text] Comrades:

Our plenum is discussing one of the fundamental questions of the party's activity, one of the most important component parts of communist construction. What do the principal tasks of the party in ideological work in the present conditions boil down to?

First, our entire ideological, educational and propaganda work must be resolutely raised to the level of the big and complex tasks which the party is solving in the process of perfecting developed socialism. The party committees of all levels, every party organization must understand that no matter how important are the other questions with which they have to deal (economic, organizational, etc.), ideological work is increasingly advancing to the fore. We clearly see the serious damage that is brought about by shortcomings in this work, by the insufficient maturity of the consciousness of the people when this occurs. And on the other hand, already today we feel how well the pace of progress increases when ideological work becomes more effective, when the masses understand the party's policy better, regarding it as its own, as a policy according with the vital interests of the people.

Second, we have at our disposal a tremendous arsenal of means of education and upbringing. These are the press and radio, television and oral propaganda, and the huge network of educational establishments of various types. All this was mentioned at length both in Comrade K. U. Chernenko's report and in the debate. The matter now is to utilize all these means more correctly, to use them more vigorously, creatively, taking into account, in particular, the considerably increased level of education and requirements of Soviet people. Here we have yet to learn a lot, and our main adversaries on this road are formalism, triteness, timidity, and at times laziness of thought. We should also proceed from the premise that the forming of the consciousness of communists and all citizens of our socialist society is a matter not only for professional ideologists, propaganda workers and workers of the mass media. It is a cause of the whole party.

Third, the question of cadres. In all party committees--in the republics, krays, oblasts, cities and rayons--there must be specially trained cadres capable of skillfully organizing ideological work with different groups of

the population--with workers, collective farmers, intellectuals, young people --and bearing responsibility for this work. These must be respected and educated people. The necessary conditions should be created for them and concern shown for the systematic growth of their qualifications. As to the criterion of evaluating their activity, there is only one: the level of the political consciousness and labor activity of the masses.

Fourth, a new, considerably higher standard of ideological and theoretical work in the field of social and first of all economic sciences, of the work of our scientific institutions and of each scientist separately must be ensured. A resolute turn is necessary towards real, practical tasks which are being set before our society by life. In the same measure as natural sciences, the social sciences must become an effective assistant of the party and the entire people in the solution of these tasks.

Fifth, a big role must be played by a change of style in the performance of the network of our political education and mass political study. It is necessary first of all to put an end to formalism, to a mechanical, divested from life memorizing (or reading from a prepared text) of these or those general propositions. The essence of political study is for everyone to understand more deeply the party's policy in present-day conditions, to be able to apply in practice the obtained knowledge and to have a clearer idea of his own duty and to carry it out in deeds.

Sixth, in the entire educational and propaganda work it is necessary to constantly take into account the specificity of the given period of history through which mankind is living. And this period is marked by a confrontation, unprecedented in the entire postwar period by its intensity and sharpness, of two diametrically opposite world outlooks, the two political courses --socialism and imperialism. A struggle is going on for the minds and hearts of billions of people in the world. And the future of mankind depends in no small measure on the outcome of this ideological struggle. Hence the exceptional importance of the ability to bring to the broadest popular masses in the whole world the truth about socialist society, its advantages, and its peaceful policy in an understandable and convincing form. It is no less important to skillfully expose the lying, subversive nature of imperialist propaganda. What we need is a well-considered single system of counter-propaganda, one that is dynamic and effective.

In short, we have a lot to do in the ideological sector and we must tackle the job without putting it off.

But even the most striking and interesting propaganda, the most competent and intelligent teaching, and the most gifted art will fail to reach their aim if they are not filled with profound ideas closely connected with the realities of present-day life and an indication of the road of further advance. In this sense the new edition of the CPSU program, which is being prepared on decisions of the 26th Congress, is to play an exceptionally important role for ideological work and for the party's entire work in general.

The present party program, as it is said in the resolution of the congress, on the whole correctly characterizes the laws governing world social

development, the aims and the principal tasks of struggle by the party and the Soviet people for communism. Its fundamental provisions are confirmed by life. Much of what is recorded in the program has already been fulfilled. At the same time, some of its provisions, and this must be said straightforwardly, have not withstood in full measure the test of time because they contained elements of separation from reality, anticipation of things, and unjustified detailedness. Besides, many important changes have taken place during the 2 decades in the life of Soviet society, in the life of other socialist countries, and in world development as a whole. All this requires a deep theoretical analysis and should be taken into consideration in the drafting of the party's long-term strategy for domestic and foreign policy.

A realistic analysis of the existing situation and clear landmarks for the future, linking the experience of life with the ultimate aims of our communist party--this is what one would like to see in the new edition of the CPSU's program. In connection with the drafting of the party's second program, V. I. Lenin said: "Not exaggerating in any way, being absolutely objective and not departing from facts, we must say in the program what there is and what we intend to do" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 36, p 55). And that is how we, dear comrades, must act as well.

What is necessary first of all for a clear understanding of prospects--in economics, politics, and in ideology--is a clear idea of the nature of the stage of social development through which we are now passing. The party has defined it as the stage of developed socialism. This is a society in which an economic base, social structure, and political system in line with socialist principles have already been fully created; in which socialism, as it is customary to say, develops on its own, a collectivist basis.

All this, of course, does not mean that the society we have created can be regarded as perfect. It still has many objectively determined difficulties which are natural for the present level of development. There also are numerous shortcomings caused by subjective reasons, by the not always skillful and organized work of people. And in the present conditions the program of the party should first of all be a program of the planned and all-round perfection of developed socialism and, consequently, of further advance to communism. The text of the program, it seems, should contain a detailed characteristic of the period of developed socialism.

It is well-known that the makeup of every society is determined in the long run by the level of development of its productive forces, by the nature and state of production relations. In our social development we have now approached such a historic line where deeply qualitative changes in productive forces and a corresponding perfection of production relations have not only ripened but have also become inevitable. This is not just our wish, comrades; this is an objective necessity, and there is no way of avoiding it. And the changes in the consciousness of the people, in all the forms of social life that we are used to calling the superstructure, must take place in close interconnection with this.

The key task in the economic sphere is the cardinal raising of labor productivity. Here we must strive to attain the highest world levels. For it is for good reason that Lenin viewed this in the long run to be the most important, the main thing for the victory of the new social system (op. cit., vol 39, p 21). This task has acquired special importance now in conditions of the scientific and technological revolution, both for our domestic development and in the international aspect.

What will be the road taken by the development of productive forces in our country in the foreseeable future?

The immediate aim is clear: first of all, it is necessary to bring to order what we have, to ensure the most reasonable utilization of the country's production, scientific and technical potential, this is including the overcoming of the lagging behind of such branches as agriculture, transport, and the service industry. The report and the subsequent debate touched on the struggle for the strengthening of discipline and order, for increasing organization and responsibility that has started in the country on the party's initiative. I want to stress, comrades, that to ensure the smooth and uninterrupted work of the entire economic mechanism is both a requirement of today and a program task for the future. This is a component part of the general process of perfecting our social system.

The main road to a qualitative shift in the productive forces is, of course, the transition to intensive development, the merging in reality of the advantages of our socialist system with the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution. Moreover, of its latest stage, which holds promise of a technological dramatic change in many spheres of production. I think all will agree that this direction of the activity of the party and people should be worthily reflected in the new edition of the party program.

A single scientific-technical policy acquires decisive importance now. A tremendous amount of work awaits us in the creation of machines, mechanisms and technologies both for today and tomorrow. We will have to automate production, ensure the widest use of computers and robots and the introduction of flexible technology allowing for a quick and effective readjustment of production for the manufacture of new output. The future of our power industry is, first of all, the utilization of the latest atomic reactors, and in the future also the practical solution of the problem of controlled thermonuclear fusion. Also on the agenda are such tasks as the production of materials with preset properties, the development of biotechnology, the extensive use in the industry of wasteless and energy-saving technologies. All this will bring about a veritable revolution in our economy.

Unfortunately, comrades, as you all know, it is the introduction of the achievements of science and technology into practice that is a snag for us. The economic manager who takes the "risk" and introduces at his enterprise new technology, who employs or manufactures new equipment, often turns out to be the loser, while the one who keeps away from innovation loses nothing. The task, therefore, is to work out such a system of organizational, economic and moral measures that would make both managers and workers, and, of course,

scientists and designers interested in the renewal of equipment and would make work in the old-fashioned way unprofitable. The Gosplan, the Academy of Sciences, and the State Committee for Science and Technology are now working on this. But this must be done at a faster pace since loss of time costs the country dearly.

And it goes without saying that to raise the effectiveness of production it is necessary drastically to reduce the use of manual labor, first of all, by way of comprehensive mechanization. The situation in the field of labor productivity will be drastically changed by the extensive use of robots, especially in those sections of production where they are still using manual, physically arduous, semiskilled and monotonous labor methods. This will make it possible for hundreds of thousands of people to work in other, more favorable conditions and to derive greater satisfaction from their work. This is of fundamental importance, comrades, for it will facilitate the solution of one of the main tasks of communist construction--the task of overcoming the substantial distinctions between physical and intellectual labor.

Generally speaking, the main productive force, of course, is man, his labor activity. I have in mind here not only conscious discipline, a creative attitude to work, but also the precise, competent organization of the work of the people and its remuneration.

Thereby we approach here the question of the perfection of production relations, the basis of which is the social ownership of the means of production. As is known, in our country it has a dual form: state property and collective farm-cooperative property. In the future we see the merging of these two forms into a single form of ownership, ownership by the entire people. Of course, the mechanical transformation of collective farms into state farms is not the way. Practice shows that there are other ways--for example, agro-industrial integration, the development of intercollective farm and collective farm-state farm amalgamations. This entire problem should be deeply and clearly elucidated in the program.

There is also another important moment. We must not forget that we are living in a socialist society, the development of which should be regulated by the cardinal principles of socialism, including, of course, the principle of distribution according to work. In this country everybody has equal rights and equal duties to society. As to full equality in the sense of equal use of material boons, this will be possible only under communism. But we will have to traverse a long road before that. It will require a much higher level both of the economy and of the consciousness of people. As for the present, if we are not to count a certain part of the social consumption frauds, every citizen in our country has the right only to such material boons that correspond to quantity and quality of his socially useful work, and only to them. And here strict accounting and strict observance of this principle are important.

The improvement of relations of production also calls for a radical improvement of planning and management. We have formed a unified national economic complex and have amassed certain experience in comprehensive planning by

regions and by key economic problems. The latest examples of this are the Food Program and the energy program, major documents with a long perspective; a kind of GOELRO Plan in present-day conditions. The party, the state, and the entire people will have to do a great amount of work to carry out these programs. But there are well-known shortcomings in our planning, such as the unjustifiable spreading thin of the resources, lack of balance in the plans, and a gap between the mass of commodities and the incomes of the population. It is an economic as well as political task to do away with such things.

Today the development of production relations makes new demands on the organization of the socialist emulation movement. At present one of the principal forms of this movement is competition for an overfulfillment of production plans, chiefly by quantitative indicators. In many cases this is justifiable as before, especially in the extractive industry. I think, however, that it would be worthwhile now to focus attention on such aims of the emulation movement as raising the quality of output and making a better use of production capacities, raw materials, energy and working time. And of course, there must be reasonable economy in everything--from a metric ton of metal to a kilo of bread.

Generally speaking, the forms of the socialist emulation movement, just as of other public initiatives and mass movements, are not something rigid and immutable. They change depending on the level of the material and cultural maturity of society. And it is the duty of the party to notice in time, support, and spread all the useful and meaningful initiatives.

Comrades, at the 26th Congress we stressed in a most definite manner the need to ensure a close connection between economic and social policies. And this is quite understandable, for the ultimate objective of our efforts in the economic field is to improve the living conditions of the people.

In drawing up our economic plans we should learn to take into account and to reflect in them all the major factors of the development of our society: social, national, and demographic. This must be a unified policy of the party, a unified strategy of social development.

The slogan "Raising the Living Standards" is used often in our country. But it is sometimes interpreted in a simplified way, having in view only the growth of the incomes of the population and the production of consumer goods. In fact, the concept of living standards is much wider and richer. It encompasses a steady growth of the consciousness and cultural level of the people, including their cultural standards in everyday life and conduct and, what I would call, reasonable consumption. Also encompassed in this concept is a good public order, health, a rational diet, a high quality of public service (with which, as is known, not all is well in our country). It also encompasses a morally and aesthetically adequate use of free time. In short, everything which together is worth being summed up as being civilized in line with socialist principles.

A tremendous headway has been made in our country in improving the housing conditions of the population. Yet the housing problem remains acute for

many. We shall mainly solve this problem in the near future--every family will have a self-contained apartment. But it must be seen to it that these apartments, just as other good things in life, are distributed fairly with due account taken of certain factors such as how the person concerned works. It is worthwhile, perhaps, to provide for a broader development of house-building on a cooperative basis and for the use of funds of enterprises in construction--and not only of residential houses, but, say, of pensions and homes for the aged, wherever this is possible and needed. This will be good not only economically but will also help cultivate in people a feeling of collectivism and a sense of direct involvement in decision-making on public affairs.

It is not enough to improve the system of cash remuneration for the work done; it is also necessary to produce the necessary amounts of goods that are in demand. And the highest quality standards should be set for them, without any allowances. At present one sometimes finds it vexing to see that although the initial materials are good, the quality of the final products is such that people prefer to overpay a profiteer for good, tastefully made products. This situation must be corrected, and corrected without delay.

It is especially necessary to see to it that the population is supplied with quality foodstuffs without any interruptions. And in this respect, it must be done in such a way as to achieve the greatest possible self-sufficiency. The aim of our Food Program is to solve this problem.

Questions of health services will undoubtedly hold an increasingly important place in the social policy of the party. The democratic character of our world's first system of free health services is known to all. But its quality level is far from meeting the demands made upon it by developed socialism. This was pointed out more than once in party decisions in recent years. It will take no small efforts to carry out these decisions. Special attention is claimed by the problem of the prevention of diseases. One of the ways to achieve this is to introduce annual prophylactic examinations of the entire population. This is a matter of public health, that is, a matter of paramount importance socially and economically.

The solution of all these major tasks in the party's domestic policy will mean a marked advance to the social homogeneity of society. This great aim, set theoretically and dreamed of by several generations of communists, has become for us today a matter of immediate practice. Experience suggests that, judging by everything, the establishment of a classless structure of society will in the main take place at the state of mature socialism. This conclusion of the 26th CPSU Congress will evidently be reflected in the new edition of the party program.

The party proceeds from the belief that the years and decades to come will bring with them considerable changes also in the political and ideological superstructure, in the spiritual life of society.

I shall address first the issue of the development of our political system, about the improvement of socialist statehood and the broadening of socialist democracy.

Many objectives on this score, contained in the operating party program, have already been realized, especially after the adoption of the new USSR Constitution. The ties between the deputies and the soviets in general with the population have grown markedly stronger. Nationwide discussions of major draft laws have been firmly established in practice. The role of people's control has grown. The trade unions, now encompassing practically all working people in the towns and villages, are becoming more active.

In short, a great deal has been done. But not, of course, everything that should have been or could have been done.

Let us take, for instance, the existing procedure for taking decisions on major matters of the state and public life. There exist possibilities for further democratizing it. I have in mind broader discussions of such draft decisions in labor collectives; a study without fail, in appropriate cases, of the conclusions of trade unions, Komsomol and women's organizations; and a maximally attentive approach to the proposals of working people.

And cannot greater publicity in work and regular accountability of leading executives to the population help bring the activities of the party and state bodies closer to the needs and interests of the people?

Recorded in the party program is a task for reducing and simplifying the managerial apparatus. I think that, as before, this should be regarded as an urgent task. This is both a practical political matter of principle which was posed by Lenin as an issue of special importance. Something is being done in this respect today, but this is not enough. I am convinced, comrades, that the staffs of many institutions and organizations can be considerably reduced without any harm to their work. The persons thus released will always find employment for themselves where there is a personnel shortage.

The subject of the further development of democratic principles in the management of production should hold, of course, an important place in a new edition of the party program. The session of the USSR Supreme Soviet will examine tomorrow our first ever draft law on labor collectives. This is an act of great political importance. It is right and good that the law is to be adopted after a detailed and truly nationwide discussion. And it is very important that it should be translated into life in full measure.

The normal progress of our social development is inconceivable without the strictest observance of laws protecting the interests of society and the rights of citizens. It is necessary specifically to eliminate completely such things as cases of the use of the state, public property, or office for purposes of public enrichment. As a matter of fact, this is nothing else but undermining the very essence of our system. Here the law must be implacable and its application inevitable. Defense of the interests of the people is one of the mainstays of our socialist democracy.

There is one more thing, comrades. We should declare a real war on practices whereby our democratic principles and standards are not supported by action

and people make do with mere form and the appearance of action. What good can it do to hold, say, a meeting if, as it often happens now, it is held according to a prepared script, if there is no interested, frank discussion, if statements by speakers are edited beforehand, while initiatives, and especially criticism, are smoothed over the muffled? And what is the worth of the work of a trade union organization which does not dare raise its voice in defense of the interests of the working people, against those or other irregularities in production? Or what is the activity of people's controllers worth if their signals are not heeded and much-needed measures are not taken?

It is a matter of exceedingly great importance to see to it that words are never at variance with actions and that the essence of the matter is not replaced by form. This is, if you like, one of the major potentialities for improving our socialist democracy in all aspects of state and public life.

As to a more long-range perspective, we communists foresee the gradual development of Soviet statehood into public self-government. We think that this will happen by the further development of the state of the entire people and by a broader involvement of the masses in managing the affairs of society.

Evidently, this process will take place not by itself and not just at somebody's good will. It is conditioned both by the material possibilities of society and the level of political understanding and culture of the masses. It is very important to understand and to remember this. Not to make up additional abstract ways and forms of development of democracy, but to proceed from experience. Therein lies the guarantee of realism of our program's objectives.

It goes without saying, comrades, that question of the party's nationalities policy will hold an appropriate place in the new edition of the CPSU program. I had to point out before that the perfection of developed socialism should necessarily include a well-considered and scientifically grounded nationalities policy. It rests on the principles bequeathed to us by Lenin: complete equality of all nationalities and ethnic groups of the country, their free development within a fraternal union, and an undeviating course toward bringing them closer together. The implementation of this policy calls, and will continue to call in the future, for a consistent education of all Soviet people in the spirit of socialist internationalism, and of a deep awareness of the community of interests of all the peoples of the Soviet Union.

Comrades, the perfection of developed socialism is inconceivable without a great amount of work that has to be done for the spiritual development of the people.

As has rightly been said here, the formation of a person begins from the early years of his life. During the plenary meeting there was much talk about the work of our schools and other educational establishments. I should like to underline one thing: The party wants the man to be educated in our country not just as a possessor of a certain amount of knowledge but, above all, as a citizen of a socialist society, as an active builder of communism, with his characteristic ideological principles, morals, interests, and high cultural standards in work and conduct.

The combination of studies with productive work is a good means of education. It is necessary to follow firmly the policy of cultivation in schoolchildren a habit and love for socially useful work. This may be physical or intellectual work, but it must be real and productive work which is needed by society.

Work is also helpful in physical development. Not everything is well with us in this respect. I have in view not only lessons of physical training and pursuit of sports, but also the need to gain a certain minimum of knowledge in the fields of hygiene and medical care. It is necessary that every person should know from youth his organism and how to keep it in order.

And where else but at school can one receive the beginning of aesthetic education and acquire for life a feeling for the beautiful, an ability to understand and appreciate works of art and to engage in artistic pursuits?

Of course, the solution of all these tasks will take much effort and time. It will be necessary, apart from other things, to improve the selection and training of teachers with an eye to present-day requirements.

Here in the Presidium we have been exchanging opinions about these things. The need apparently is arising for serious thought to be given to reforming our schools, including the vocational training system.

Comrades, the party's strategy in perfecting developed socialism must be based upon a solid Marxist-Leninist theoretical foundation. Meanwhile, frankly speaking, we have not yet studied properly the society in which we live and work, and have not yet fully revealed the laws governing its development, particularly economic ones. This is why we have to act at times empirically, so to speak, by the quite irrational trial-and-error method.

Science, unfortunately, has not yet prompted practical solutions to a number of important problems, solutions which are essential and which would meet the principles and conditions of developed socialism. What do I mean? Well, first of all, the choice of the most reliable ways for raising the efficiency of production, the quality of output, and the principles of scientifically substantiated price formation. And not only that. Life constantly puts forward new problems with which our society's advance is connected. The more so, as the experience of the socialist development of a number of other countries is now available also. This experience requires attentive study, evaluations, and generalizations. To put it succinctly, the role of social sciences in present-day conditions must be given attention to without fail in the new draft of the CPSU program.

The importance of literature and art in our socialist society is pointed out quite well in the current program. At the same time, some provisions on this score are, perhaps, in need of an additional development.

The party supports everything that enriches science and culture and helps educate the working people in the spirit of the norms and principles of developed socialism. It treats the talents and creative quest of the artist with consideration, respectfully, without interfering in the forms and style

of his work. But the party cannot be indifferent to the ideological content of art. It will always direct the development of art so that it serves the interests of the people. It is not, of course, a question of administration by mere injunction. Marxist-Leninist criticism--active, considerate, attentive, and at the same time uncompromising to the ideologically alien and professionally poor works--is the main method of influencing artistic creativity.

We all see how, as the cultural level of the people is raised the impact of art on the minds of people is increased. Thereby possibilities for art to actively influence social life also increases. And it means that the responsibility of the workers in the field of art for securing that the powerful instrument in their hands serve the cause of the people, the cause of communism, grows to an immense extent.

Comrades, the experience of the world development in the last quarter of the century dictates the need to modify many provisions of the program concerning international problems.

The correlation of forces in the world arena has substantially changed. An unprecedented sharpening of the struggle between the two world social systems has taken place. Meanwhile, an attempt to solve the historical dispute between the two systems through a military clash would be disastrous to mankind. The character of the further development of mutual relations between them--i.e., in essence, the question of the preservation of peace on earth--is both today and in the foreseeable future the pivotal problem of the foreign policy of our party.

But not only of our party. The threat of a nuclear war overhanging mankind causes one to reappraise the principal goals of the activities of the entire communist movement. Communists have always fought against oppression and the exploitation of man by man. Nowadays they also struggle for the preservation of human civilization, for man's right to life. One cannot but reflect this in the program.

The socialist countries and their policy are in our days a factor of immense importance in the cause of ensuring lasting peace on earth. To strengthen the cooperation and cohesion of these countries is, I would say, the paramount direction of the international activities of the CPSU and the Soviet state.

The CPSU program mentions the new type of relations that have developed between socialist countries. But the past 2 decades have enriched our idea of the world of socialism and have shown more vividly how diverse and complex it is. Between individual socialist countries there are major distinctions as regards their economies, culture, ways and methods of solving the tasks of socialist development. This is only natural, even if it seemed to us at one time that it would be more uniform.

The history of world socialism confirms that the socialist system creates all possibilities for a confident progress of society and harmonious relationships between countries. We see many examples of how these possibilities are

realized on the basis of the principles of socialist internationalism which includes both absolute respect for the sovereign rights of each country, mutual comradely support, and mutual assistance. But, as experience shows, all this does not come by itself. A correct political line is necessary for the possibilities to be translated into life.

In politics one has to pay for one's errors. When the guiding role of a communist party weakens, there arises the danger of returning to a bourgeois-reformist way of development. If a party loses touch with the people, self-proclaimed contenders for the role of those who express the interests of the working people emerge in the ensuing vacuum. If there is no rebuff to nationalistic sentiments, there arise inter-state conflicts for which, it would seem, there is even no basis in the socialist world.

And it is particularly important, of course, that the existing differences do not interfere with the development of cooperation. To ensure this is the sacred duty of communists, of the ruling communist parties. After all, what can divide us is immeasurably smaller than what we have in common as the builders of a new society.

We are for friendship with all socialist countries. As for our closest friends and allies--the countries of the socialist community--we have a common opinion: Life demands not just an expansion of cooperation, but a rise in its quality and effectiveness.

This means, firstly, a further perfection of political interaction, of which the Warsaw Treaty Organization is the major instrument. We visualize it so that our cooperation in this sphere will be more and more close. Of course, it will continue to develop with due regard for the peculiarities of the situation, as well as the specific interests of individual states. At the same time, a jointly determined common course will be an increasingly strong blend of opinions and positions of the fraternal countries.

We strive, secondly, for a qualitatively new level of economic integration. Already today it is impossible to imagine the life of the countries of the socialist community without it. In the long term, integration will become more comprehensive, all-embracing, and effective, reliably ensuring the strengthening of the national economies of the participating countries. This is the goal of our joint efforts.

Finally, in the sphere of spiritual life we envisage the further ideological drawing closer together of the fraternal peoples, the strengthening of the sense of unity, commonness of the historical destinies, and an expansion of the exchanges of the values of culture.

Of course, all these are long-term processes. They are taking place already today, but their effect will be telling to a still greater extent tomorrow, in the coming decades. And we are convinced that the higher and closer together the levels of the social development of socialist countries will be, the greater the mutual understanding between them and the more organic, rich, and deep their cooperation.

An objective scientific analysis of differences between individual socialist countries as well as between fraternal parties in the world communist movement, and the quest for ways to overcome these differences on the Marxist-Leninist basis, in order to strengthen the unity of communists, are undoubtedly one of the important tasks of the party on the international plane. The program cannot bypass it if we want to remain rooted in the soil of reality.

The growing role of the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America which have freed themselves from colonial or semicolonial dependence is one of the basic features of the present-day work which must be reflected in the new draft of the program. The processes which are taking place in these countries are complex and multivalued, and it is important that they be understood correctly.

A capitalist system has established itself in some of these countries. But the imperialist powers' aggressive policy of domination and diktat runs counter to the objective interests of those countries. In striving to overcome economic backwardness, those countries are in need of equitable international cooperation and lasting peace. Many of them regard contacts with socialist countries as a means to strengthen their independence. It is only natural that we shall continue to pursue a course towards mutually beneficial cooperation with those states with full respect for their sovereignty and noninterference in their affairs.

Most close to us in the former colonial world are countries which have chosen socialist orientation. We are brought together not only by common anti-imperialist, peace-loving goals in foreign policy, but also by common ideals of socialist justice and progress. We see, of course, both the complexity of their position and the difficulties of their revolutionary development. It is one thing to proclaim socialism as one's goal and quite another thing to build it. A certain level of productive forces, culture, and social consciousness are needed for that. Socialist countries express solidarity with these progressive countries, render assistance to them in the sphere of politics and culture, and promote the strengthening of their defense. We contribute, to the extent of our ability, to their economic development as well. But, on the whole their economic development, just as the entire social progress of those countries, can be, of course, only the result of the work of their peoples and of a correct policy of their leadership.

As to the world of capitalism, we are witnessing a substantial deepening of the general crisis of that social system. The methods which helped capitalism to maintain relative stability in its development in the postwar period are becoming less and less effective. It is becoming increasingly clear that imperialism is unable to cope with the social consequences of the scientific and technological revolution, unprecedented in its profundity and scope, where millions upon millions of working people are doomed to unemployment and misery.

Imperialism has become entangled in internal and interstate antagonism, upheavals, and conflicts. This greatly affects, but in different ways, the policy of capitalist countries.

On the one hand, as has already been said, the more aggressive of ultra-reactionary forces led by U.S. imperialism has sharply increased. Attempts are being made to reverse the course of events at all costs. Of course, this policy will not bring imperialists success but, being adventuristic, it is extremely dangerous to mankind. This is why it is meeting with powerful opposition on the part of the peoples, which, undoubtedly, will grow even further.

In the present-day capitalist world, however, there are also other trends and other politics which take a more realistic account of the international situation, in the international arena.

They realize the processes which have taken place in the world are now irreversible; they realize the necessity and mutual benefit of long-term peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. We, on our part, have said on more than one occasion, and repeat once again, that we are prepared for this. We are convinced that this meets the interests of the peoples on both sides of the social barricade dividing the world. For there are many major problems which concern all countries and which are of ever-growing significance--for example, the preservation of nature on our planet, the harnessing of new energy sources, the exploration of space, and the utilization of the resources of the world oceans.

The communists are convinced that the future belongs to socialism. Such is the march of history. But this does not at all mean that we are going to engage in the "export of revolution," interference in the affairs of other countries. The "export of revolution" is impossible altogether. Socialism grows only on the soil of the objective requirements of social development of each given country. We firmly believe that socialism will ultimately prove its advantages precisely in the conditions of peaceful competition with capitalism. And we by no means advocate competition in the military field, which imperialism is foisting on us.

Peaceful coexistence is objectively facilitated by military-strategic balance between socialism and imperialism. The attainment of this balance is one of the most important results of last decades. It requires from our people and the peoples of other countries of the socialist community no small efforts and resources, and we shall not allow it to be disrupted. We shall continue to do everything possible to ensure the security of our country, our friends and allies, and shall enhance the combat power of the Soviet Armed Forces--a mighty factor containing the aggressive aspirations of imperialist reaction. But if it became possible to reduce the level of armaments and military spending on both sides and embark on disarmament, which we are actively seeking, this would be a great boon for all countries and peoples.

Our goal is not just to avert war. We are seeking to bring about radical improvements in international relations and to consolidate and develop everything that is good in these relations. We shall press for respect for the sovereign rights of states and peoples and a strict observance of the principles of international law which imperialism is more and more often trying to discard and trample upon.

In short, in our epoch it is precisely socialism that is the most consistent defender of the healthy elements in international relations, the defender of the interests of detente and peace, the interests of each people and the entire mankind. The new draft of the CPSU program should obviously state all this in explicit terms.

Comrades, the accomplishment of the tremendous tasks facing the country will require a further enhancement of the party's leading role. Therefore, the party ought constantly to perfect the forms and methods of its own work. There are a number of provisions on this score in the CPSU program which still need to be translated into reality. New questions are also arising.

It is very important, for example, to ensure in practice a correct distribution of functions between the party and the state. It has been repeatedly said that party bodies should not duplicate state bodies, but this is not always successfully avoided. As a result, this often leads to a reduction in the responsibility of the state organ leaders and a desire to shift that responsibility to party organs while the latter involuntarily develop elements of a narrowly departmental attitude to work.

The party has a large reserve in the further development of inner-party democracy, the enhancement of the creative activity, initiative, and responsibility of communists. The bolder and more specific communists will be in discussing the vital questions concerning the life of the party and the country, the more actively they will participate, the more successfully our party will be able to perform its historic mission.

The new draft of the party program is called upon to help us all to concentrate efforts on accomplishing the key tasks facing the party and the people. If we fulfill them well, this will be another immense stride forward in developing the country and improving the life of the people. And then our socialist system will demonstrate to the entire world its advantages and its magnetic force even more convincingly.

It is important not only to map out clear-cut, well-considered guidelines for the future, but also to bring them home to millions of communists and people who are not party members so that they will join actively in the coming work. It is precisely this that constitutes one of the prime tasks of the fighters on the ideological front. Ideological, educational work is above all a question of the party's ties with the masses. It is in this that its significance lies. And this plenum will, I am sure, be of considerable assistance to the party in all its activities.

(The speech was listened to with great attention and repeatedly interrupted by lengthy applause)

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TOPICAL QUESTIONS OF THE PARTY'S IDEOLOGICAL AND MASS-POLITICAL WORK

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[Report by K. U. Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary]

[Text] Comrades:

The revolutionary transformation of society is impossible without changing man himself. And our party proceeds from the premise that the molding of the new man is not only the most important aim, but also an imperative condition of communist construction.

The Great October Revolution destroyed the social and spiritual fetters which had stifled for centuries the creative energies of men of labor. The revolution placed the working class in the center of the modern epoch and freed the gigantic creative energy of the working people. And it is here that the best features of the Soviet character are rooted.

Soviet man, a fiery patriot and internationalist convinced of the correctness of the ideals of communism, matured, grew and was steeled in the course of revolutionary struggle and revolutionary creativity. He is distinguished for his vigorous civic stand, vital interest in all state and public matters, an imaginative, creative attitude to work. In short, comrades, we have every reason to believe that the new man is not just a remote ideal but also a reality of our time.

In this we see a result of the most profound social, economic, and political changes effected under the guidance of the Leninist party; of its constant concern for the development of socialist democracy; for the growth of the consciousness, well-being and culture of working people.

We see in this a vivid testimony of the constantly growing influence of the party among the masses, its strengthening ties with the working class, peasantry, and intelligentsia of the inviolable unity of the party and the people.

The decisions of the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which continued the line of the 26th Party Congress and confirmed the continuity of its domestic and foreign policy, are supported by all the people. The working people of the Soviet Union ardently approve the activity of the CPSU Central

Committee and of its Politburo, headed by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov. It is directed at consistently improving the work of the entire state and economic mechanism, at raising the responsibility of cadres, organization and discipline, further building up the economic and defense might of our motherland and advancing the well-being of the Soviet people.

The party possesses a powerful, most diverse arsenal of means of ideological influence, numerous well-trained cadres, everything that is necessary to ensure the high effectiveness and quality of propaganda and education. It should not be forgotten, however, that the process of the forming of the new man is just as continuous and complex as life itself is continuous and complex. The social and economic conditions of work and daily life are changing, and ever new generations are entering the period of maturity. And this sets quite a number of new tasks which the party is keeping in the center of its attention. The main direction of improving ideological, political, and educational work in present-day conditions are outlined in the 26 April 1979 Central Committee resolution in the materials of the 26th CPSU Congress and other party documents. The purpose of our plenary meeting is to discuss the course for fulfillment of these decisions and to exchange views on how to conduct further work.

The socialist state, Lenin stressed, derives its strength from the consciousness of the masses (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 36, p 21). And the party tirelessly sees to the perfection of the ideological, political labor and moral upbringing of Soviet people. It constantly links this work with the concrete historical situation, with the internal and external conditions in which our development takes place.

Today the party and the people are solving tasks of unprecedented scope. We are carrying out huge comprehensive socioeconomic programs, including the food and energy programs. We are pressing for the intensification of production for the acceleration of scientific and technological progress and we are changing the appearance of huge regions. We are persistently working for the tremendous possibilities of our economy, science and culture, and our natural resources to be used as fully and as effectively as possible. And it stands to reason that ideological work must accord with all these tasks. The fulfillment of the five-year plan, the pace of our advance and, of course, the strengthening of the country's defense capability depend in many ways on how we will be able to mobilize the spiritual energy of the people, raise its labor and social activity.

You understand well, comrades, that in the present conditions the international situation exerts a noticeable influence on the nature of propaganda and educational work. The international situation has seriously deteriorated lately. The United States of America and its NATO allies are following an extremely dangerous course. Its class meaning is clear: to try to put a brake on progressive changes in the life of mankind and to regain lost positions. Having suffered a number of major defeats in the world arena in the 1960s and 1970s, imperialism, first of all American imperialism, is mounting ever more massive attacks of unprecedented scope on our social system and on

Marxist-Leninist ideology, is trying to poison the minds of Soviet people, and is working to distort the aims of our foreign policy and to block the growing influence of real socialism--the main bulwark of the cause of peace and the freedom of peoples. A tense, truly global struggle of two ideologies is taking place.

All this requires renewing, enriching and making more relevant the content of ideological and educational work, its forms and methods, increasing the offensive nature of our entire propaganda. Such phenomena as dodging acute problems of life, formalism and pomp must be resolutely overcome. Realism, truthfulness and efficiency, a skillful presentation of our accomplishments and a thoughtful analysis of questions which concern the people, freshness of thought and clarity of presentation--it is at this that the Central Committee orients the ideological workers.

The entire ideological activity must facilitate the assertion everywhere of the Leninist style of work--a style that is businesslike, creative, innovative, imbued with lofty devotion to ideology, with implacability to everything that is inert, that contradicts the norms of socialist morality and the collectivist way of life.

A special coloring is given to our plenum by the fact that it is taking place in a year that has been rightly called the year of Karl Marx, the founder of scientific communism and proletarian ideology. This ideology is scientific and democratic, revolutionary and humane, and this cardinally distinguishes it from bourgeois ideology which justifies and blesses the exploiter system and the aggressive policy of imperialism, preaches nationalism and chauvinism. Contrary to bourgeois ideology, communist ideology wins the minds and hearts of millions by its truthfulness and honesty, wholeness and optimism. This is the ideology of a class that is on the rise, the ideology of a new society, ideology of peace and friendship among people.

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Comrades, the effectiveness of ideological work depends directly on how accurately the specificities of the period through which the country lives are taken into account. In general form this question is clear. Soviet society has entered a historically lengthy stage of developed socialism; to perfect it in every way is our strategic task.

The dialectics of the present stage of our development are already patently expressed in these propositions. This is the stage of mature socialism. But this is only the beginning of the stage. On the one hand, we are faced with major tasks of today and tomorrow while, on the other hand, there exist problems that remain, so to say, from yesterday.

Great successes have been achieved in solving many economic, social, political and cultural tasks of the first phase of communism. The shoots [rostki] of the communist future are visibly strengthening. At the same time our advance is restrained by shortcomings in the economic mechanism, by labor productivity, especially in agriculture, that does not satisfy us, by the insufficient civic maturity and discipline on the part of some people.

It is understandable that the views, sentiments of working people, are formed under the influence not only of our achievements but also of shortcomings and difficulties. This must be taken into consideration. We must strictly proceed from Lenin's instruction that it is a prime duty of the party to "soberly follow the actual state of the class consciousness and preparedness of the entire class (not only of its communist vanguard), and of all the working masses (not only of their advanced elements)." It is only on this condition that one can count on success in mass political work, in the cause of communist construction.

All this sets before us a number of theoretical and practical tasks. Let us take the theoretical tasks.

We rightly regard the propositions and conclusions contained in the materials of the 24th-26th congresses of the CPSU, the CPSU Central Committee plenums, and in the statements by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Yu. V. Andropov the real achievements of Marxist-Leninist thought of recent times. The elaboration of the concept of developed socialism, by ways of raising the efficiency of production in conditions of the scientific and technological revolution, the setting of the question of the establishment of the classless structure of society within the historical framework of the first phase of communism, the deepening of our notions of the content of the nationalities question at the present stage, of the most important tendencies of international life, the development of the Leninist teaching on war and peace, on defense of the socialist homeland--these and other theoretical generalizations arm the party with new ideas, with a scientifically substantiated, balanced approach to pressing problems of our time.

It goes without saying that in its theoretical activity the CPSU relies on the best works of Soviet philosophers, economists, historians, sociologists, jurists, and psychologists. Yet assistance to the party from the scientific institutions could have been more substantive.

I will give you a concrete example. We expected much of the Institute of Sociological Studies and the Central Economics-Mathematics Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR which were set up way back in the 1960s. But to this day we are still waiting for thorough concrete studies of social phenomena and pressing economic problems. The activities of these institutes patently demonstrate the shortcomings that are also typical, to varying degrees, of some other scientific institutions: isolation within their own academic and group interests, insignificant subject matter and weakness of party influence. The Department of Science and Educational Institutions of the Central Committee, the Presidium and the Social Sciences section of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, and party organizations should devote more attention to questions of planning and organizing research and to the style and methods of work of scientific collectives.

The problems of mature socialism must be on the main road of development of social sciences. The point is to report from already achieved truths and to advance, expanding our theoretical horizon, deepening notions of the most important laws governing the country's economic, social, political, and

spiritual progress. The point is also not to interpret the developed and mature nature of Soviet society as total perfection, not to idealize what has been accomplished. The efforts of all social sciences must be concentrated on the constructive elaboration of methods and means of attaining our immediate and long-term aims.

The study of foreign policy factors, international relations, is no less important. Obviously, the optimistic view of mankind's future, inherent in communists, cannot be based on a simplified, straightforward understanding of the historical progress. This calls for a constant study of the alignment of class forces in the international arena, for taking into account and foreseeing their influence on the solution of the main question of our time--the question of war and peace. It is necessary to make a deeper analysis of the social and political processes in socialist countries, the ways of the all-round strengthening of the world socialist communism, the latest specific features of state-monopoly capitalism and the class struggle of the proletariat, the world communist and workers' movement, the development of countries of the socialist orientation, and global problems of our time.

I believe there is no need to enumerate here all the concrete problems that demand the attention of scholars. Let us put the question in a more generalized form: If we take the principled approach, what would we want the studies in the field of social sciences to be like?

First, they must proceed from the existing reality, with all its pluses and minuses, and fully show the objective laws of social development.

As is known, the question of contradictions as the motive force of social development is of substantial importance for theory and practice. It has been elaborated quite well as applied to the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. What is needed today is an all-round study of the non-antagonistic contradictions inherent in mature socialism, of the specific aspects of resolving them in conditions of the strengthening social, political, and ideological unity of Soviet society. Here, just as in any social organism, a struggle between the new and the old is taking place, and not only creative but also negative tendencies exist. These, for example, include parochialism and the narrow department approach, bureaucratism and conservatism. The causes of these and other such phenomena must be revealed, and means of overcoming them found.

Second, the scientific institutions must work more promptly and flexibly. Life does not develop according to an unchanging pattern. Unexpected turns of events occur. There arise questions that are just as unexpected. And one must be able to timely concentrate scientific forces on them.

Third, despite all their importance, the discussions about the laws and categories of science should not be of a self-sufficing, scholastic nature. The party hopes that scientific research will result in the more frequent appearance of solid practical recommendations.

Fourth, scientific workers must act with a greater orientation toward the future, must "detect" in time the ripening tendencies. I am referring to reliable forecasting that would make it possible to see the morrow better and to adopt well-founded decisions.

The most important thing is that the social sciences are obliged to undeviatingly guide themselves by revolutionary theory, to skillfully use the tested Marxist-Leninist methodology of scientific quest. Of course, new facts might lead to the need of supplementing, specifying existing views. But there are truths that are not subject to revision, problems that had been solved long ago and unequivocally [odnoznachno]. One should not, while remaining on the soil of science, "forget" about the fundamental principles of materialist dialectics.

One can hardly acknowledge as scientific the concepts that explain such qualities of man, say, as honesty, courage, integrity, by the presence of "positive" genes and actually deny that these qualities are formed by the social environment. For it has long been known how unproductive are attempts to mechanically transfer the notions and methods of natural and technical sciences to the field of social phenomena, the simplified interpretation of the interrelationships of nature and society, and that this, in effect, impedes the strengthening of fruitful cooperation of these sciences with social sciences. A correctly organized scientific criticism plays an important role in overcoming such erroneous views. It is, of course, impermissible to attack ideological "labels" during a theoretical polemic, but this does not at all exclude candid evaluations of those works that deserve this. Precision of world outlook--if you want, methodological discipline of thought--is an imperative condition of the successful development of social sciences.

Tens of thousands of industrious people loyal to the party and people are working in science. This is a big force. The party is confident that Soviet scientists will further devote all their knowledge, all their talent to serving our socialist motherland.

Comrades, the idea of perfecting developed socialism must be placed at the base not only of theoretical but also of the entire propaganda and educational work.

Why is it necessary to focus attention on this? First of all, because during a certain period of time, as you know, there existed a lightweight perception of the methods and duration of transition to the highest phase of communism. Hurrying, so to speak, our dream, some theoreticians and propagandists tried to smooth out the roughness of the road taken by us and lost contact with the real conditions of life. But without a complete and conscious overcoming of the flight of propaganda away from reality, it is impossible to achieve unity of words and deeds, although this is a crucial source of our strength.

We have achieved much in attaining an aim which has never been set by anyone but communists--the forming of an ideologically convinced, harmoniously developed, spiritually rich individual building his life according to the laws of social justice and reason, goodness and beauty. But we have no reason for self-complacency.

For as we advance, there is a constant growth not only of the possibilities for the all-round development of the personality, but also of demands made of it by society.

Here the party views as the most important task the education of every person in the requirement to work, of a clear awareness of the need for conscientious work for the common good. Both the social acknowledgment and the material welfare of a person must be determined first of all by how he works. It is not just the economic side that is important here; the ideological and moral side is no less important. For in work man not only creates material value, but also develops his best abilities, steels his will, fulfills his creative potential, and asserts himself as a citizen, as an active builder of communism.

An honest, conscientious attitude to work is the prime foundation of the socialist way of life. But is this characteristic of all? Unfortunately, it is not.

The improvement of the organization and strengthening of the discipline of work in all sectors and at all levels--from the worker and collective farmer to the minister, strict observance of contractual obligations to deliver produce, as it is demanded by the Central Committee--this is a real reserve for improving the economy. Without special outlay the use of this reserve can produce and, as we see, does produce weighty material results. The steps taken by the party to strengthen labor discipline and order have shown that within a comparatively short period of time we have succeeded in achieving noticeable progress in overcoming slackness and the irresponsible attitude of some people to their labor duties. These efforts were received by the people with satisfaction.

Here, for instance, is what Hero of Socialist Labor Vladimir Grigor'yevich Komarov, a worker at the Sergo Ordzhonikidze Machine Tool-Building Building Plant, wrote to the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee: "I did not set down to write this letter right away or impulsively. The occasion was your warm meeting with our plant's workers. A worker of long standing and a war veteran, I have seen much in my life. And, honestly, the soul rejoices at how much we have accomplished. The good changes are immense indeed. But they could have been greater still.

"Most work honestly as their worker's conscience demands of them. There are, however, some who work sloppily, who are not above skipping their work, but who on payday are the first in line to the cashier and even complain about not being paid enough.

"So a man has lost his conscience. He wants to give less but to snatch more. Snatch from whom? From the state, and this means from us.

"The line of our party's Central Committee to strengthen discipline and the organization of work is, so to speak, the frame on which the entire machine is mounted--labor productivity, the quality of output and, as the end result, our entire standard of life. I will tell you wholeheartedly that the line of

the party is fully and entirely consonant with our thoughts and feelings. This is our line as workers."

I am confident, comrades, that every honest working person would sign this letter.

The strengthening of discipline is not a short-lived campaign, but implies daily painstaking work. And success is ensured when it directly involves not only the management but all working people, when it relies on the experience, consciousness, and civic activity of the masses.

Discipline and order are inalienable aspects of socialist democracy which gives our people broad possibilities for administering the state and society. The party regards the further development and deepening of democracy as a mighty, effective means of the communist education of working people and the molding of the new man.

The CPSU Central Committee attentively studies everything that is born of the creativity of the people, and encourages in every way the development of democracy in most diverse spheres of social life, including directly in production. For instance, organization of the work of a team as work according to a single contract has shown itself to be a form of truly socialist self-management. The experience of enterprises in Moscow, Kaluga, Dnepropetrovsk, Sverdlovsk, and other cities and a number of rural areas shows that the productivity and labor discipline are usually higher in the collectives that have switched to this form of work. Here each worker sees better the connection between his labor contribution and his earnings. Patently manifesting themselves here are the spirit of comradely mutual assistance and the educational impact of highly organized socialist work.

It is the duty of party committees to constantly search for ways to develop the initiative of the working man, to raise his role in the management of production, to educate every Soviet citizen in the feeling of being the full-fledged master of the country. New possibilities here will be opened by the law on the work collective.

The accumulated experience confirms that where the rights and possibilities of work collectives are used in full measure, not only are the production indicators higher, but the moral atmosphere is also better and there are fewer violations of law and order.

Comrades, the education of the new man is inseparable from the most vigorous struggle against drunkenness, hooliganism and sponging, speculation and theft of socialist property, bribe-taking and money-grubbing. It would be wrong to see in all these ugly phenomena, which give rise to the concern and rightful indignation of working people, only "vestiges of the past" in the consciousness and behavior of people. The causes of many of these "sores" should be sought also in the present-day practice, in the mistakes of various workers, in the real problems and difficulties of our development, in the shortcomings of educational activities. So the removal of negative phenomena requires not only constant propaganda efforts, but also measures of an economic organizational and legal nature.

We must create an atmosphere of intolerance of all violators of the norms of socialist community life, regardless of who they are, and mobilize public opinion against them. And, of course, more vigorous and purposeful work to form the reasonable requirements and interests of the individual is necessary.

Practice proves repeatedly that success of education is ensured only when it rests on the firm foundation of socioeconomic policy. This provision of the 26th Congress is of principled importance. And party cadres must know well the socioeconomic factors that influence the sentiments and behavior of people, and more closely link ideological work with the struggle to fulfill key economic and sociopolitical tasks.

The serious critical analysis that was made in the CPSU Central Committee recently of the activity of the Irkutsk, Tula, Khmel'nitskiy, and some other regional party committees showed that one of the main causes of the lag of these regions in developing the economy was their underestimation of ideological and educational activity in work collectives and mistakes in the selection, placement and education of cadres. No doubt about it, ideological activity by itself cannot solve economic and social problems. The attained successes should not be ascribed to it alone, nor should it alone be rebuked for the existing shortcomings. The needed effect is produced only by the merging of ideological and educational work with political, organizational and economic work. Both party and economic leaders should always remember this.

This applies to any aspect of our activity, to any branch of the national economy. Especially obvious is the need for a comprehensive approach to the solution of problems arising in the countryside where the working and living conditions are usually more complex. It is necessary to switch agricultural work to an industrial basis more vigorously, to enrich its content, to raise its prestige. The countryside should be reorganized everywhere, and housing, living and cultural conditions there should be improved. It is on this that the attention of party organizations is concentrated by the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the April 1983 conference at the Central Committee on questions of agriculture and the fulfillment of the Food Program. Without the solution of these problems, it is difficult to achieve the strengthening of collective and state farms with skilled cadres, the creation in each farm of a stable collective.

Comrades, the struggle to raise the efficiency of production and the quality of output is the key element of our work. The socialist emulation, the movement for the communist attitude toward work, the efforts of every collective, of scientists and specialists, must be directed toward this.

What contribution can be made here by the system of propaganda and education? A very substantial one. And first of all actively to form the new type of economic mentality directed at initiative and socialist business acumen, at raising responsibility, at the creative search for ways leading to the best economic end result for the least outlay.

We know quite a few examples of a correct solution of these tasks. Take the collective of the Likachev Automobile Plant in Moscow. A steady growth of labor productivity and improvement of quality of output is characteristic of it. How is this achieved?

First of all the party organization persistently asserts at the plant a spirit of creativity and innovation which facilitates the introduction of advanced practices. Also serving this is the streamlined and effective system of training personnel--which, incidentally, begins even outside the enterprise--with work in affiliated schools. Much attention is given to the education of young workers, to the development of a system of tutelage for young workers. Publicity, the open discussion of successes and failures, the participation of officials at every rank in political and educational work create the social climate in which people work well.

But it is not everywhere that this is so organized.

Much work still lies ahead of us to improve the propaganda of model methods of work and intensive methods of management. For delays and red tape in disseminating advanced experience are quite tangible economic losses when viewed in the context of the entire country.

Economic propaganda, on the whole, is doing little to facilitate the study and utilization of such experience. The party committees are dutybound to ensure that this propaganda should concentrate on problems on which the fulfillment of the party's economic policy and the performance of work collectives depend in the first place. It would be expedient to include special questions, perhaps even courses, in the study programs of the system of economic education with the purpose of raising the level of the scientific and technical knowledge of workers, specialists, and economic managers and substantially expanding the study of advanced experience.

Genuine efficiency, a thrifty attitude to the people's property, to the use of material, labor and financial resources are inalienable features of modern economic mentality.

Numerous agitation and propaganda activities related to question of economizing and thriftiness are being conducted. They do not have the backing of effective practical measures everywhere. Here is the result: The assignments for 1982 to save electricity and some other material resources were only fulfilled in the country as a whole by 50 percent and even less. A particularly great lag in saving fuel and electricity occurred, for instance, at enterprises of the USSR Ministries of Power and Electrification, Heavy and Transport Machine Building and Mineral Fertilizer Production. The struggle for economizing and thriftiness should be based on a well-considered system of material and moral incentives so that it would really become a cause of the entire state, of the whole people.

Comrades, many tasks are being set by life before the ideological workers. But invariable among them, earlier and now, is the task of forming the scientific, Marxist-Leninist world outlook--the foundation of the communist

upbringing of people. It is this world outlook that makes communists and working people conscious political fighters capable of independently assessing social phenomena, seeing the connection of the current tasks with our ultimate aims and of conducting a well-argued polemic with any ideological opponent. And the party is paying undiminishing attention to shaping in communists a requirement of theory, of an interest in it and a taste for it. Our system of party education is also intended to serve this. The better it performs its role, the better and more decisively will we rid ourselves of formalism, dogmatism and inertia, of obsolete forms of education that produce little effect, and the more accurately will we take into account the specifics of every category of communists. It is necessary consistently and persistently to readjust our work here in line with the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Further Improving Party Training in the Light of the 26th CPSU Congress."

The CPSU attaches prime importance to studying the ideological heritage of Marx, Engels and V. I. Lenin. A huge amount of work was done to collect and publish their works. The fifth edition of the collection of Lenin's works has been completed. The second edition of works by Marx and Engels, including some 1,500 materials published for the first time, has been put out. The total printing of works by the classics of Marxism-Leninism in the years of Soviet power has exceeded 700 million copies.

I would like, comrades, to seek your advice on the following question: We want the scientific world outlook to be the asset of all Soviet people, of every new generation. But does it always happen that our books, teaching aids on the fundamentals of revolutionary theory intended for the mass reader, meet the known Leninist requirement for Marxist propaganda: to be as scientific and popularized as possible? The need, it seems, is to prepare such a book in which the easy-to-understand presentation of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism would organically combine with a striking narration about the heroic road traversed by our party and people.

You will probably also agree that today the formation of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook has never been more closely connected with a convincing and skillful propaganda of our historic accomplishments and the advantages of the new system. It is necessary to show more deeply the meaning of such fundamental values of socialism as a collectivist spirit and comradely mutual assistance, the general power of the people and humanism, the fraternal friendship of the peoples, the moral health of society and the confidence of every person in tomorrow. "In its sum total," Yu. V. Andropov stresses in the article "The Teaching of Karl Marx and Some Questions of Socialist Construction in the USSR," "this means a fundamentally new quality of the life of the working masses which by no means is reduced to material comfort but absorbs the entire spectrum of full-blooded human existence" (KOMMUNIST No 3, 1983, p 14).

It is important for understanding the true value of the historic achievements of Soviet society that they not become glossed over in the consciousness of the people, that the proud feeling of being a citizen of the new world not be eroded--to quote Vladimir Mayakovskiy--by the most terrible type of depreciation, the depreciation of the heart and the soul. It is necessary to place

the great attractive force of communist ideals more actively at the service of our educational aims.

17

Comrades, Lenin regarded the press as a mighty instrument of ideological influence and political guidance of society. The correctness of this thesis is confirmed by the entire experience of socialist construction. The means of mass information and propaganda are an effective instrument for the communist education and organization of working people, for giving ideological backing to the party's domestic and foreign policy, a real rostrum of the whole people. It is their activity that, in our time, determines to a considerable extent the effectiveness of party propaganda and the state of affairs in the other sectors of the ideological front.

After the 26th CPSU Congress, our press increased its attention to the pressing tasks of communist construction. The increased effectiveness and maturity of its publications is illustrated by the fact that many of the ideas and proposals outlined in them were taken into consideration during the drafting of important documents of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers. For instance, I will mention the publication of articles in PRAVDA concerning questions of perfecting the management of the district echelon of the agroindustrial complex, in IZVESTIYA concerning the manufacture of consumer goods, in TRUD concerning the participation of workers in the management of production. In such grandiose accomplishments of our time as the construction of the Baykal-Amur Mainline railroad, the development of Siberia and the Far East, the construction of the Urengoy-Pomary-Uzhgorod gas pipeline, the improvement of the huge tracts of land and the development of the Nonchernozem Zone, the mass media are manifesting themselves not as impassive chroniclers but as vigorous propagandists and organizers.

The abundant output of our press shows that its work is effective only when attention is concentrated on the main directions of the people's creative activity, when pressing issues are raised and the working people are extensively drawn into discussing them. The letters of readers, television viewers and radio listeners, the dispatches from worker and peasant newspaper contributors are a sensitive barometer of public opinion, a full-flowing source of the thoughts, experience and initiative of the masses. And the editorial offices should use them in full measure. In their turn, the party committees are obliged to see to it that each serious publication receives a lively response and becomes an impulse to improve the state of affairs and to achieve new frontiers.

The growth of the educational and cultural standard of Soviet people makes new demands on our press, television and radio. The CPSU Central Committee and the editorial offices are getting letters from working people expressing dissatisfaction with the content, language and style of some publications and programs. Criticism is directed against cliché dispatches and commentaries and also against such editorials in which you will find neither deep generalizations nor fresh thoughts. Also rightly criticized is the insufficient promptness and the insufficiency of information in television and radio programs.

Editorial boards should collectively work to eliminate these shortcomings. Every publication, every article should enthrall the readers with its grasp of life and principle-mindedness, keen thought and vivid style.

The structure of periodicals--newspapers and magazines--should be perfected. The demand for a number of publications for children, teen-agers and other groups in society is insufficiently met. At the same time, quite a number of purely department publications, especially journals, are issued, although some of them, to be frank, are of little value.

Long-running problems of the rayon and city press should also be discussed. They account for almost half of all newspapers, and do a large amount of work, but many of them often only try to copy the national and regional newspapers, but do not satisfy the needs of the readers in all respects. At times people know better what is happening in a distant foreign state than what is going on in their own city or rayon. Worthy of note is the experience of those publications which change periodicity and volume issues with due account for the conditions of work and the requests of the readers--naturally within the limit of the allocated annual paper stock. The main efforts of the editorial boards should be directed at covering local life, and this should be done thoroughly, at a good professional level. There is no doubt that the All-Union Institute for the Advancement of the Professional Skills of the Workers in the Press, which is being established, will contribute toward resolving these and other problems.

Much also depends in this field on the leadership of the local press by the party committees. Unfortunately, sometimes two extremes are observed: at times city and rayon committees seem to forget about their newspapers, then, on the other hand, they paralyze their initiative by petty tutelage. And at times they distract the editors from their direct duties by charging them with various economic missions. The rayon and city newspapers also have other problems. They are short of skilled personnel, and the printing facilities are far from being on the necessary level. Obviously, the time has come to examine, especially by the CPSU Central Committee, questions pertaining to the development of the local press.

The effectiveness of propaganda is determined, above all, by such qualities as its being scientific, truthful and realistic. It goes without saying that these qualities are indispensable both for critical, problem-addressing articles and stories and publications on our successes. "What, precisely, are these successes? Have they been verified? Are they not fables, boasting...? How have the successes been achieved? What must be done to extend them?" This is the way Lenin posed the question (op. cit., vol 37, p 90).

It is necessary to recall this because there are still boasters. For example, take our newspapers early in the year. A profusion of assurances is published that all plans will be overfulfilled. But when the time comes to sum up the results, you can't get a word out of some people, and others will issue a report in such a way that they seem to be worthy of an award, albeit the plan targets and commitments have not been met. In such cases, journalists should be, as they say, more biting, and uphold the interests of the state more boldly.

Criticism in the press is, certainly, a sharp weapon. And one should be able to use it, without becoming sidetracked from positions of principle-mindedness and objectivity. To us a critical statement is no sensation but a signal, whose sole aim is to eliminate the shortcomings.

I will also touch upon the attitude to criticism. It is an open secret that at times attempts are made to prevent critical statements or to "reassure" an editorial board with a noncommittal reply. We also encounter instances of persecution for criticisms. And one cannot help thinking that the cases of suppression of criticism would be impossible if the party and Soviet bodies duly penalized those guilty.

The press exerts its main influence on the education of the masses by popularizing advanced experience and models in every walk of life. It possesses plentiful possibilities to impressively describe the image of our contemporary, the working man, who embodies lofty ideological and moral qualities. We need vivid features about heroes of the five-year period; workers, collective farmers and specialists, such pieces of television journalism as "The Turner,"--about the Leningrad innovator Ye. N. Moryakov--or "Yegor Ivanovich,"--about the famed miners' brigade leader Ye. I. Drozdetskiy. Needless to say, television films about the country's best people are very important in educating the working-class replacement, our younger generation.

The television viewer is also looking forward to more feature films and entertainment programs in good taste. Naturally, it is not easy to make every program meaningful and interesting. But there is no other way to reach the minds and hearts of viewers.

Comrades, it is the most important mission of socialist culture to form and elevate the spiritual needs of man and to actively influence the ideological, political and moral values of the individual. It is this that determines the measures of responsibility of the artist whose talent is highly appreciated by the party and regarded by it as a most valuable asset of society. Most heartfelt words of gratitude are due to those men of letters, musicians, artists and workers in the theater and cinema who are actively developing the great multinational culture of our homeland. Many works of art of the past few years have become good companions to millions of people on their roads in life. This, undoubtedly, is the effect of the multifaceted activity of our intellectual unions in promoting the links of literature and art with the practice of building communism.

The point of departure in the artist's work has always been his civic stand. It is only an approach from positions of the party that helps to understand the leading trends of our time. Genuine talent does not isolate itself from life or take the liberty of varnishing reality or artificially emphasizing unseemly phenomena.

But, frankly, sometimes things turn out differently. Certain filmmakers and authors sometimes put to the forefront only unhappy destinies, troubles of life, loose and whining characters. But man, particularly a young man, needs an ideal embodying noble goals in life, ideological convictions, industry and

fortitude. There is no need to invent such heroes because they are living next to us.

It is worrying that certain works of art take the liberty of deviating from historical truth--for instance, in evaluating collectivization--and slip into "God-seeking" motives and the idealization of patriarchal ways of life. We also sometimes see an author either getting discouraged by complex problems or trying to dazzle by interpreting them in an "unorthodox" way, distorting our reality as a result. Such phenomena could be avoided if the staff of all the journals and publishing houses stamped out more resolutely instances of unprinciple-mindedness, compromise, and subjectivistic partiality. This is equally true for the formation of theater and cinema selections.

Not everything satisfies us in such a popular art form as variety, either. One cannot fail to see, for instance, that the tide of its popularity sometimes brings to the surface music groups with programs of doubtful value, which is ideologically and esthetically harmful.

A more thorough approach should also be adopted in the selection of the foreign cultural and intellectual products we are getting through cultural exchanges. Everyone knows that, along with meaningful works of art, we are getting films, plays, publications and music characterized by a lack of ideals, platitudes and artistic futility. One should not forget, comrades, that for us priority should be attached here to a political rather than a commercial approach.

The USSR Ministry of Culture, the USSR State Committee for Cinematography and the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade should improve their supervision of the development of those areas of the cultural and intellectual life of society which are in the field of their activities. There should be no room for either formalism or lack of control here. The Central Committee Culture Department should also be more active in helping intellectual organizations and institutions to organize their work in the spirit of high party exactingness and principle-mindedness.

Of course, the Leninist style of leadership of the development of culture is characterized by an in-depth understanding of the specific features and complexities of creative artistic work, and command methods and partiality are alien to it.

Thousands upon thousands of communists work in intellectual unions and institutions of art and culture. They are the combative vanguard of our artistic intelligentsia and their political core. It is important that party organizations should actively influence the ideological orientation of theaters and film-making studios, literary associations, journals and publishers, as well as the education of cadres, creating an atmosphere of good teamwork between recognized masters and young workers in art and helping them to master Marxism-Leninism and to perfect their skills.

Soviet culture, which has an irresistible appeal of humanism, creative diversity and artistic wealth, is actively contributing to the cause of mutual

understanding among nations. Last year alone about 400 Soviet art groups visited more than 100 countries. Revolutionary solidarity leads our filmmakers, journalists, writers and performers to the "flash points" of the world where the battle for the freedom of the peoples and for social justice is going on. And it is heartening that talented works of journalism, political novels, plays and films, which often are created on the heels of actual events, are winning ever larger audiences in the country and outside it.

The scope of the spread of cultural values here is truly immense. But there also are certain difficulties.

The growing demand for books, first and foremost fiction and art publications, is not yet being fully met. The reasons for this are well-known--namely, a lack of printing capacity and paper. Musical instruments, modern TV technology, particularly filming and transmitting equipment, and dependable color TV sets are not yet produced in sufficient quantities. The USSR State Planning Committee, the Ministries of Communications and the Electronics Industry, the USSR Ministry of the Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry, the Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances and other departments do not approach with proper responsibility the strengthening of the technical base of propaganda. But it is time to understand that the technology gap is a brake on the efficient use of our propaganda potential.

Comrades: I am now moving on to our tasks stemming from the present-day international situation. As you know, the United States and other NATO countries are banking today mainly on achieving military superiority over the USSR and the Warsaw Pact organization, on the runaway arms race camouflaged by myths about the "Soviet military threat." Washington's adventuristic policy, whipping up international tension to the utmost, is pushing mankind toward nuclear catastrophe.

Given the acuteness of international relations, the CPSU is still firmly convinced that nuclear madness can be stopped. And there is no more important task for our party than the task of safeguarding and strengthening peace. We are consistently upholding the principles of peaceful coexistence and detente. The broad complex of initiatives advanced during the recent period by the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community shows that socialism is carrying on its peace offensive.

Statements by Comrade Yu. V. Andropov are exerting a profound influence on the world public. Their argumentation, principle-mindedness, and calm and confident tenor stand in sharp contrast to the irresponsible and aggressive declarations of the White House. At the same time, these statements give our class adversaries an idea of the might of our state and the futility of the hopes to force the USSR into concessions which would jeopardize our security, the peaceful life of the Soviet people and the working people of fraternal socialist countries. This position has been forcefully reiterated in the recent statement of the Soviet government.

The major tasks of TASS, APN, the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, and other departments concerned with foreign policy propaganda are perseveringly and convincingly bringing to the mass of people the truth about our foreign policy in order to win public opinion over to this side and expose the plans of the imperialist forces. The International Department of the CPSU Central Committee should coordinate all this work in the best possible way.

We have no reason to take a defensive stand on any question of principle. We cannot say, however, that our foreign policy propaganda is always sufficiently active and masterful in demonstrating the superiority of socialism and that it is fully capable of overcoming the hedges of antisocialist bias with which the Western ruling circles are surrounding the peoples. Let us not deceive ourselves: If we explain one event or another superficially, or report it belatedly, we will later on have to reassure people, which is far more difficult than assuring them in the first place.

It is necessary to enhance the argumentation and promptness, appeal, and journalistic qualities of materials addressed to foreign audiences while explaining in an easy-to-understand way the concrete contents of our internationalist policy of peace. Otherwise we cannot hope for success in foreign policy propaganda in the long term.

Priority should be given here to coverage of the activities of the CPSU and the Soviet state in further extending fraternal contacts among socialist countries. It is necessary to improve exchanges of experience in communist education and our ideological cooperation, and is better to use the available reserves for joint struggle against imperialist propaganda and the attempts to sow the poisonous seeds of nationalism and revisionism. Attention to questions of strengthening solidarity with the emergent states and with the peoples fighting for their freedom and independence must not slacken either. The consistent efforts of the party to establish mutually beneficial contacts with capitalist countries are a constant theme of our propaganda.

The class enemy is openly stating its intention to liquidate the socialist system. President Reagan has called for a new "crusade" against communism. Imperialism regards "psychological warfare" as one of the main means of attaining its goal. It is being waged by the West at the highest possible hysterical anti-Soviet and anticommunist pitch. The adversary is practicing veritable banditry on the air. We face attempts to organize against us a full-scale information and propaganda invasion and to turn radio and TV networks into tools of intervention in the internal affairs of states, tools of subversive actions.

That is why it is necessary to take the offensive by launching counterpropaganda on a large scale, not only on the international scene, but also within the country. The party committees should have a clear idea of what the enemy is trying to smuggle in, in what form and through what channels, and timely and effectively counter these attempts. One cannot leave without a principled evaluation in the party spirit either the actions of those persons who, consciously or unconsciously, are echoing foreign voices, so to speak,

and spreading all sorts of lies and rumors. No communist must overlook these things.

The CPSU Central Committee positively appraised the practice of organizing counterpropaganda in the Maritime Kray. Interesting experience has been accumulated in Moscow, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Kazakhstan, and Estonia. More extensive use of it should be made with due account for local conditions. It is important that the party committees and primary party organizations should promptly get materials which help to expose the intrigues of hostile propaganda. This is what the appropriate departments of the Central Committee should be busy with.

The ideological struggle on the international scene is going on without respite. We will continue to wage it vigorously and with dignity, resisting acts of provocation. The Soviet people can be confident that our party will spare no effort in the struggle for ensuring world peace and for the social and national rights of the peoples.

III

Comrades, our entire system of ideological work should operate as a well-tuned orchestra in which every instrument has a distinctive voice and plays its theme, while harmony is achieved by skillful conducting. The main demands on party leadership of ideological work are to constantly check the tenor of propaganda against the goals of our policy and the interests of people, and to ensure that "word becomes deed," as Lenin put it (op. cit., vol 35, p 202). Propaganda is called upon to embrace every aspect of social life, every social group and region, and every individual. It is necessary here to better coordinate the educational efforts of our soviets, the truly broad-based bodies of government, the trade unions, the Komsomol and all the other mass organizations.

After the CPSU Central Committee's 26 April 1979 decree, the party committees began to concern themselves more actively with propaganda and to show more initiative and creativity in raising its efficiency.

But has such a turn taken place everywhere? Frankly, no. Apparently, certain party committees have taken a simplistic view of the Central Committee's demand to increase attention to ideological work. The number of resolutions has increased while the situation has, in effect, remained the same. Questions of education are often shifted onto the shoulders of ideological cadres alone while the decisions taken are not backed by concrete work. For instance, the Leninabad Obkom has examined questions of legal education and improvements in law enforcement in more than 40 occasions during the past 3 years while the number of offenses in the oblast keeps growing. This example shows once again that directive alone cannot change the situation. It is important that the party committees, all their departments and, of course, first secretaries regularly concern themselves with questions of ideological work.

We say that ideological work is a cause of the entire party. Hence, it is a cause of every communist, who influences the views and moods of people not

only by words but also by his attitude to work and his conduct in everyday life. And the communists are setting good examples of dedicated service to the interests of the people and the ideals of the party.

It is a great honor to be a communist today. But it is also a great responsibility and a far from easy duty. That is why, while unfolding political propaganda among the broadest mass of the working people, the party committees must raise the level of ideological work within the party itself and improve its forms and methods. It is all the more important since hundreds of thousands of young workers, collective farmers, and intellectuals are joining the party every year. Today, it has more than 3 million members under 30. And it is necessary to help every newly accepted member to master in depth the party's ideological and political heritage and its Leninist traditions and bolshevik ethics. The replenishment of the party ranks and the education of young communists is a link in which the questions of the party's organizational work and ideological work come into contact. And work should be organized here so that the non-party people, in Lenin's words, should clearly see: "The communists admit new members to the party not in order that they may enjoy the advantages connected with the position of a governing party, but that they set an example of real communist labor...." (op. cit., vol 39, p 380).

The force of the moral example of a communist, particularly a communist in a position of leadership, is quite great. He always is in full view of the masses, and the higher his position the greater his responsibility. Those who forget this and happen to catch "altitude sickness" can fall prey to serious dangers and setbacks. One also comes across cases of conceit, crudeness and red tape. There still are leaders who do not know the difference between their own pockets and those of the state and abuse power. The party resolutely gets rid of such people.

Ideological work should be conducted in a different way, with due account for the diverse interests of different groups of the population. This should be said, first and foremost, because the makeup of social strata and social patterns are changing before our very eyes and because the multifaceted process of obliterating difference between classes is going on.

First and foremost these changes make themselves felt in the social makeup of young people. A younger generation most literate in the country's history and particularly well-prepared occupationally is now embarking on its independent road in life. They have grown up under conditions of socialism, continuously rising living standards, and under conditions of peace. Loyal to communist ideals and revolutionary traditions, young people are working in the forefront of the five-year plan. The future of our system is in dependable hands.

But the party also sees negative phenomena among young people. What is worrying is the belated civil maturity, political naivete, and the sponging attitudes of certain young people; their unwillingness to work where society needs them today. What cannot help but alarm us is the desire of some young people to make themselves noticeable not by their knowledge or industry but

by expensive things bought with their parents' money. I mention this here not at all to harp on present-day youth, saying that they are not what young people used to be in the past. No, what I mean is another thing. Those who are coming to school today will tackle the most complex tasks of the coming 21st century. And we want them to be in the prime of their talents and free from moral flaws when they tackle them.

The point also is that our enemy is trying to exploit for its ends the specific features of youth psychology. Young people have not seen at first hand the grim trials of class struggle and war, when the true face of imperialism with its hatred for the peoples of our country and for the socialist system was laid absolutely bare. That is why it is necessary to constantly take care of the ideologically, moral, class and work maturation of young people.

The schoolteacher has a great role to play in the accomplishment of these tasks. He is entrusted by society with raising our children and is a dependable bulwark of the party in agitation, propaganda and ideological activity as a whole. The sources of many civic qualities and of the knowledge which benefits man during the years are inseparable from the work of schoolteachers, of whom we have, comrades, about 3 million. We should raise and safeguard in every way the prestige of the teacher, constantly take care to improve his working and living conditions and his ideological and labor training.

There is no need to prove the importance of the early identification of the abilities and gifts of the individual and of the correct choice of profession or trade. Man's labor productivity, social activity and his destiny in life, if you wish, depend on this to a large extent. Our vocational training system has extensive possibilities in this sense. Regrettably, it is often regarded in schools as a way of getting rid of so-called problem teen-agers. This attitude is harmful both to schools and to vocational training schools. It is necessary to raise the prestige of vocational training schools, to strengthen their material basis and personnel, and to improve training and educational processes in them. Thought should also be given to a system of more effective privileges to their graduates in enrolling in institutions of higher learning.

The experience accumulated by Leningraders convincingly shows what the system of vocational training can yield. Graduates of vocational training schools are the main source of replenishment for the working class there. Almost all of them begin to meet the fixed quotas even during the first months of their independent work and, as a rule, fit in well into work collectives. The appeal of vocational training schools for young people has grown.

How have these results been achieved? First and foremost, thanks to the initiative and well-thought-out activities of the regional party committee, which have established clearly defined and businesslike relationships between general schools, vocational training school and enterprises. This experience undoubtedly deserves support and propagation.

One more important issue is the question of raising the ideological influence of teaching social sciences in higher educational institutions and specialized secondary schools. Teachers of those subjects should have on their side not merely the prestige of the science they represent, but their own clearly defined ideological stand, the charm of questioning thought and a morally appealing personality. This, I stress, is what it should be like. But this, regrettably, is not always the case. There are still teachers who read lectures from time-yellowed notes, artfully circumventing sensitive issues. Such speakers, as M. I. Kalinin aptly observed, "marvelously put audiences to sleep" (M. I. Kalinin, "Izbr. Proizv.: [Selected Works] in four volumes. Vol 2, Moscow, 1960, p 129).

It should be stated frankly that the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education has slackened control over the quality of training social sciences teachers and the teaching of social sciences as well as the implementation of the resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on the work of vuzes. We are not quite happy, either, with the level of specialist training for the key sectors of the national economy. The situation must be corrected. The leadership of the ministry and the party committees should also constantly take care that an atmosphere of creative searching, mutual respect, exactingness and intolerance of any breaches of law and morality prevails in every vuz faculty.

The Komsomol is doing a good deal in fostering the political, civic and moral qualities of young people. The party views it as a loyal assistant and gives its services their due.

However, not all the Komsomol organizations are meeting the tasks facing them. Sometimes they remain aloof from the outstanding problems really facing young people and fail to respond timely to new tendencies and fads among young people and to impart to them a proper ideological orientation. Excessive organization and noisy fanfare are an obstacle. There is a lack of ability to bring a business once started to fruition and to work with utmost usefulness not only under exceptional conditions but also in routine day-to-day situations. The Komsomol Central Committee and the Komsomol activists as a whole should work seriously to remove these shortcomings.

Lenin regarded the development of communist morality as the main element in raising and educating young people. So it is necessary to better demonstrate the true humanism of our collectivist morality and to wage a relentless battle against a lack of spiritual values, selfishness, smugness and all the attempts to smuggle in alien views and mores into our midst. We have always had indubitable moral superiority in the struggle for socialism and communism. And today the moral strength of Soviet society is a major condition of our success.

It is a responsible task of the Komsomol to help the party in the further improvement of the military-patriotic education of young people. We have remarkable traditions of this work. They should be carefully preserved and multiplied, with due account for those realities which arise from the

present-day dangerous development of the international situation. Revolution, war and work veterans have always played an invaluable role in this matter.

To be a patriot today means to tirelessly strengthen the economic and defense potentials of our homeland, to enhance one's readiness to defend peace against any encroachments of the imperialist aggressor and to conscientiously approach one's military duties. On the whole, young people perform army service well, perseveringly mastering modern technology. Rising to the demands of the homeland and their internationalist duty, they perform veritable feats worthy of the military glory of their fathers and forefathers.

The people rightly call our Army and Navy a school of bravery, industry and lofty moral values. We must continue to enhance in every way the educational role of the Soviet armed forces.

Comrades, ideological work in the conditions of our country, uniting more than 100 large and small nations, is unthinkable without a thorough study of their specific interests and the peculiarities of national mentality and culture. Indeed, the solution of the nationality question we inherited from the past does not at all mean that the nationality question has been removed from the agenda altogether. A well-thought-out scientific nationalities policy is an intrinsic part of the activities of the party in perfecting developed socialism. And the key condition of their success is raising the working people in the spirit of proletarian, socialist internationalism.

The key directions and tasks of these activities were defined in the materials of the 26th CPSU Congress and other party documents. You are well aware of them. I would only like to remind you how important it is to notice in a timely fashion new positive developments in national relations, to comprehensively analyze the tendencies of the flourishing and drawing closer together of nations and to devise forms of work which is important to identify in a timely way the problems and contradictions arising here and to effectively resolve them. In short, internationalist education should be conducted on a large scale, perseveringly and in a businesslike way, without limiting ourselves to festivals and jubilee campaigns. True party principle-mindedness should be skillfully combined here with utmost tactfulness.

The Soviet people's internationalism is always active. Hundreds of thousands of representatives of different nationalities are working at priority construction projects, wherever their work is called for by the interest of the state as a whole.

Of course, all this is not done of its own accord. For instance, there are labor reserves in certain parts of the country. However, we are not yet quite successful in attracting them and sending them to those places where they are particularly needed today. All of us should think how to better cope with this problem.

Or take such a progressive phenomenon, now established in our country, as the perfect command of Russian as the language of interaction among nations as

well as being a national language. It has become widespread. But there are quite a few cases when a poor knowledge of Russian limits a person's access to the wealth of international culture and narrows the range of his activity and interactions. Recently the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers adopted a resolution on providing conditions to facilitate the study of Russian by the population of national republics. This resolution should be actively implemented.

I have touched upon only some of the problems arising in the sphere of relations among nations. All of them demand the attention of the party committees, social scientists and activists of ideological work. We should work for an organic combination of patriotic and internationalist education, for the formation in everyone of high standards of interaction among nations and a sense of pride in our Soviet homeland.

Work with such a specific group of the population as believers must not be slackened, either. Part of the people--a: ' frankly, not a very insignificant part--still are under the influence of religion. Numerous ideological centers of imperialism are trying to support and, moreover, foster religious sentiments and to impart to them an anti-Soviet and nationalist bias. A special stake is put on religious extremists. At the same time, allegations about "violations of the freedom of conscience in the USSR" are spread.

What can be said in this context? Everyone knows about our constitutional guarantees of the freedom of conscience. The communists are consistent atheists but they do not impose their world outlook on anyone. Our method is education, conviction, propaganda. But when we come across facts of violations of socialist laws and subversive political activity which is only camouflaged by religion, we act in accordance with the demands of our constitution.

Lasting results in educational work are achieved, as has been said above, when it embraces every aspect of the life and activity of the people, including their everyday life, leisure and family relations. Leisure should be more meaningful and interesting, help in the development of human talents and relieve stresses caused by the pace of today's life.

A responsible role is played here by health care workers. There are among them quite a few really dedicated and knowledgeable people. They are doing a good deal to shield man from disease and to extend his active lifespan. Naturally, this field of activity requires constant care and improvement and the removal of the existing shortcomings.

Of course, human health, vitality and mood depend not on medicine alone. It is important that everyone, not only at work but also in off-duty hours, should be aware of attention and care. In particular, a great role is to be played here by the development of the mass-scale sports movement. The party organizations of production collectives, housing management offices and deputies' groups have accumulated a wealth of experience in working with the resident population. It is necessary to draw general conclusions from this experience, to select everything which is best and introduce it in practice

more boldly. For instance, the press has described on more than one occasion the establishment of district cultural and sports complexes, supervised by local soviets of people's deputies, which integrated the work of community centers, sports facilities and libraries regardless of their department affiliation. The USSR Council of Ministers, together with the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, should give thought to the more extensive propagation of this experience.

Problems of leisure are closely intertwined with problems of reinforcing public order and dependably ensuring tranquility and personal safety for citizens. The Central Committee makes exacting requirements on those who have been entrusted with this responsible business, first and foremost on militia, the courts and the procurator's office. The public, particularly the Komsomol, should not remain aloof from maintaining law and order, either.

Let me touch upon the "technology" of ideological work, upon questions of its organization and planning. It is a good thing that comprehensive plans have begun to be used on a large scale and that the tasks of education are being more closely related to the solution of concrete socioeconomic problems.

However, propaganda is still in need of consistency and a businesslike approach. Sometimes one wave of a propaganda campaign catches up with another, as it were, dampening rather than enhancing its impact. Another shortcoming is that some ideological departments of party committees spend an inordinate amount of time on drafting numerous plans which remain on the desks of their authors. At the same time, an avalanche of all sorts of directives and demands for reports and memoranda chain secretaries of party organizations to their chairs, tearing them away from work in direct contact with people. This bureaucratic style of work should be renounced, and the sooner the better.

Today, when new structures of management of agricultural production are emerging, particular importance is attached to questions of improving the style and methods of ideological and organizational work of the rural district party committee.

The experience of the Talsinskiy Rayon Party Committee in Latvia, the Vilyandiskiy and Pyarnuskiy Rayon party committees in Estonia and the Abashskiy Rayon Party Committee in Georgia is quite instructive. They have approached the establishment of agroindustrial associations first and foremost as the problem of the establishment of new relationships between people who are brought together by common objectives, a common interest, and responsibility for the end results of their common work. Socialist emulation, the activity of the district newspaper and radio network, and oral agitation and propaganda are subordinated to the accomplishment of this task. Particular concern is shown for meeting the social and cultural needs of people and for the development of democratic principles in production management. This experience, tested by practice, should be turned to more often.

Everyone would like to see the fruit of his work and know how society evaluates it. Ideological workers are no exception. When all is said and done, their work is measured by the ideological maturity of people, their activity

in work and the degree of their organization. But a good deal has to be done to achieve such a vantage point, so to speak. Fussiness, unnerving demands on cadres and attempts to substitute reports on the lectures read and on the number of activities staged for the actual results of education have nothing to do with this work. These weeds should be suppressed wherever they emerge. The party committees have every right to count on more active help from the Central Committee Propaganda Department in asserting a businesslike and creative style of work.

It is impossible to conduct ideological work efficiently without having a smoothly functioning feedback mechanism. Otherwise propaganda will miss its mark.

The party has many channels of flexible and prompt feedback enabling it to sensitively detect changes in the mood of the masses and to study in depth their interests and needs. These include the speeches and letters of working people, questions to lecturers and propagandists, and sociological studies. An interesting experience of such work has been accumulated in Azerbaijan, Belorussia, Georgia, Latvia, Uzbekistan and a number of regional committees of the Russian Federation and the Ukraine. It should be developed. It is necessary to move from appraisals of the condition of the ideological processes to forecasting them, from occasional public opinion polls to regular public opinion studies and even to the organization of a center for studying public opinion.

The need has arisen to further strengthen the scientific and methodological base of political education and propaganda work as a whole. Work on sociological, psychological and pedagogical problems of this sphere of spiritual activity still lacks depth and a planned character. The very rich experience accumulated in this field is poorly generalized as well. I think it would be right for the plenary meeting to instruct the Central Committee Secretariat to examine this question and to take a proper decision.

Noting the leading role of the contents of propaganda, we should not underestimate the importance of its forms. This was pointed out by the 26th CPSU Congress. And we see that such forms of work as methodological seminars, "open letter days" and television dialogues generate interest in propaganda and make it possible to conduct a frank dialogue with audiences.

However, there still exist long and boring didactic monologues. The appeal of permanent propaganda centers, let alone those which are in fact constantly inoperative, is markedly on the decline. A considerable part of the visual agitation means, which, incidentally, absorb a good deal of public funds as well as time, do not work. In short, the inertia of outdated forms still makes itself felt.

It is understandable that a propaganda form by itself does not guarantee success. For instance, integrated political education days have appeared to be a good form of mass political work. However, in a number of places their contents are known to have been obviously emaciated. Sometimes officials are replaced by lecturers and political news analysts and a lively discussion of

outstanding problems gives way to news readings or recitals of texts on general political themes.

Why do some officials avoid this work? Merely because many questions raised by working people demand not only explanation, not only eloquence, but practical measures. And when they are constantly put off until tomorrow there emerge, on the one hand, discontent in the audience and, on the other, a certain "timidity," fear of public speeches.

One should not avoid frank discussions with people. One should be able not only to explain our policy and teach the masses but also to learn from them, one may say, to be enlivened by the masses. This should be not only a duty but a need for every official. Political speeches and regular reports on business to working people are the touchstone effectively testing the qualities of an official and his ability to organize people and lead them. That was how Lenin saw it. This is how our party's Central Committee sees it.

The development of socialist democracy is unthinkable without large-scale publicity. You know what measures the CPSU Central Committee Politburo has taken to provide more thorough information of its activity. We will continue this line and ensure the maximum possible publicity in questions touching upon the interests of people. Obviously, it is necessary to make it obligatory for the heads of ministries, departments and party committees to appear on television and to write in the press on a regular basis.

The cadres are the key link of ideological work. They are contributing great efforts and the spirit of bolshevism to propaganda. The party believes in its cadres and highly appreciates their noble and dedicated work. It supports their creative quests and shows constant concern for raising their knowledge of ideological theory and their professional skills and for keeping them informed of the latest developments. There has emerged a streamlined system of training and retraining for all groups of ideological workers. It is necessary to continue to improve it on the basis of those increased requirements which are made by the Central Committee today. I believe that the ideological cadres will do everything possible to more graphically demonstrate the greatness of our ideals and the unbreakable links of party policy with the vital interests of people and to enhance even more the activity of working people.

Comrades:

Our plenary meeting has met on the eve of the 80th anniversary of the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party. The bolshevik party has traveled a glorious and arduous road. Equipped with Marxism-Leninism and relying on the working class and on the support of all the working class, it spearheaded the revolutionary upheaval of worldwide historical importance and led our people to great victories.

One of the main results of the heroic road traveled by the communist party is the unbreakable unity of the party's ranks, the unity of the Central Committee and its leading nucleus. This unity, in Lenin's words, is "infinitely precious, and infinitely important" (op. cit., vol 24, p 192).

The November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum became a model of the cohesiveness of the Central Committee and its Politburo and the unity of the party and the people. In those hard days the Central Committee addressed the communists, all Soviet people, with the appeal to close their ranks even tighter and to follow calmly and confidently the course charted by the 26th Party Congress. That appeal evoked a profound response in the hearts of millions.

The Politburo and Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee are working efficiently, concertedly, and in an atmosphere of high principle-mindedness and full and genuine unity. Every condition for free discussion has been created at their meetings, as has evaluations on questions of domestic and foreign policy and for a comradely exchange of opinion.

In concluding my report, I would like to comment anew on the complexity and multidimensional character of the tasks arising in every field of ideological work. There are not, nor can be, any one-time decisions which are suitable for all cases. Short-lived campaigns and storm work will yield no effects here either. It is necessary to prepare for systematic work without letup. We have everything necessary to make this work an even more efficient means of encouraging the initiative, energy, and conscientiousness of the masses. We will achieve it if every communist, every official consistently translates into practice the Leninist principle: Ideological work is a cause of the entire party!

There is not, nor can be, a nobler task than that of putting within the people's reach the ideals of communism and the immortal ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

There is not, nor can be, a loftier task than that of raising everyone to the level of the maker of his own destiny, the maker of history.

Allow me, on behalf of the Politburo, to express the confidence that in the course of the plenary meeting and in the speeches of comrades the urgent questions of ideological work and political education will be examined thoroughly and comprehensively, that general conclusions will be drawn from the accumulated experience and that, what is most important, practical ways will be mapped out collectively for the successful accomplishment of the tasks facing us. That will be the course urged by Yuriy Andropov, focusing on deeds rather than loud words (prolonged applause).

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TOPICAL PROBLEMS OF PARTY IDEOLOGICAL AND MASS POLITICAL WORK

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[15 June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum Decree]

[Text] Having heard and discussed the report of Comrade K. U. Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee Politburo and CPSU Central Committee secretary, the CPSU Central Committee Plenum notes that the ideological and political situation in the country is characterized by the further cohesion of Soviet people around the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its Central Committee, and the Central Committee Politburo headed by Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov. The working people of our country unanimously support the domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU, its course toward the intensification of production, raising the living and cultural standards of the people, deepening social democracy, strengthening the mainstays of the Soviet way of life, preserving peace, and averting thermonuclear war. They respond with concrete actions to the party's call for strengthening in every way discipline and order, working more effectively and in a more organized manner, and carrying out successfully the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the May and November 1982 Central Committee plenums.

Soviet society has entered a stage in which profound qualitative changes in the productive forces and a corresponding improvement in production relations have become necessary. In close interconnection with this, changes should also occur in the consciousness of people and in the entire superstructure of society. The party and the people concentrate their efforts on the tasks of a systematic and all-round improvement of developed socialism, tasks the solution of which directly depends on the level of the political consciousness and activity of the working people. Ideological work is moving more and more to the forefront and its role and significance are increasing. V. I. Lenin taught that in tackling new tasks the "preparation of the masses in particular is politically the most important thing" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 42, p 217).

It should also be borne in mind that a sharp exacerbation of the struggle between the two social systems, two diametrically opposite world outlooks, a struggle unprecedented in the postwar period, is taking place in the international arena. The historic achievements of real socialism, the increased prestige and influence of the world communist and working class movement, the progressive development of countries which have cast off the yoke of colonial

oppression, the upsurge of the national liberation struggle and the tremendous scale of the antiwar movement exercise an increasingly deep influence on the minds of the peoples throughout the world. Imperialist reaction, above all the top rulers of the United States, hatching crazy plans for world domination, are pushing mankind to the brink of a nuclear catastrophe by their aggressive policy. A psychological war, unprecedented for its scale and intensity, is being waged against the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. Bourgeois propaganda, which is not averse to using lies and slander, is trying to cast aspersions on the socialist system, to undermine the sociopolitical and ideological unity of our society. Therefore, the steeling of the working people as a class and uncompromised struggle against bourgeois ideology assume special importance today.

The plenum has positively assessed the work done by party organizations to improve education and propaganda in accordance with the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the Central Committee decree of 26 April, 1979. At the same time the plenary meeting says that serious shortcomings in this sphere have not yet been fully removed and that not all party committees give it due attention. Such intolerable things as divorcements from the requirements of practice, formalism, and ostentation still make themselves felt. One of the most important tasks of the party is to further improve ideological work and to make it more effective.

I

The CPSU Central Committee unanimously approves the program provisions and conclusions contained in the speech made by Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, at the plenum and that they should be made the basis of all activities of party organizations.

It is necessary to raise ideological, educational, and propaganda work up to the level of the great and complicated tasks which are being tackled by the party in the process of perfecting developed socialism. Mass political work is called upon to strengthen the unity of the party and the people, to enhance the communist firmness of principle and to foster their creative energies. The molding of the consciousness of communists and of all members of our socialist society is not the task of ideological workers only. It is also a matter of concern to the entire party.

We have everything necessary for enhancing the efficacy of ideological work. These are the real gains of socialism, the gains of worldwide historical importance; these are our great revolutionary teachings, the existing system of communist education and the experience gained in this field, a powerful information and propaganda apparatus and qualified ideological cadres loyal to the cause of the party. It is necessary to make a more effective use of the rich arsenal of means of education and upbringing, to employ them more actively and in a creative way with due account taken, specifically, of the considerably increased level of education and of the requirements of the Soviet people. It is necessary to consistently build ideological and educational work on the firm foundation of the social and economic policy of the party. This work should be filled with deep ideas closely linked with present-day realities and indicating the way for further movement ahead.

The strength of our ideological and educational work, like that of the party's policy as a whole, lies in the fact that it is grounded scientifically and rests on the most progressive and ever developing Marxist-Leninist theory. The CPSU's collective thought has enriched scientific communism with a teaching on developed socialism. The party has determined that Soviet society is at the beginning of this historically long stage and revealed the real dynamics of its development. This calls for a more active scientific quest, for ensuring a resolute turn by scientific institutions and all scientists-sociologists to the key practical tasks confronting our country.

The party and the state expect the economists, philosophers, historians, sociologists, psychologists, and law scholars to work out dependable ways of raising the effectiveness of production, to study the laws governing the emergence of the classless structure of society, internationalization of social life, the development of socialist rule by the people, social consciousness, and the problems of communist education. Especially topical are such questions as stimulation of scientific and technical progress, improvement of the system of management and planning, ensuring the priority of nationwide state interests, perfection of distribution relations, the principles of scientifically grounded price formation, etc. It is necessary to study more extensively everything that is best in the experience gained by the fraternal socialist countries. There is a need for thoroughly analyzing new phenomena in international relations, in the development of world socialism, in the world revolutionary process, and new aspects and sides of the general crisis of the capitalist system. Scientific studies should be translated into practical recommendations and produce well-founded social forecasts.

One of the most important tasks of propaganda and agitation is to facilitate in every way the solution of cardinal national economic problems: those of the intensification of production, a rapid introduction of the achievements of science and technology, implementation of the food and energy programs, ensuring a rational use of the country's production potential, raising labor productivity and, on this basis, further increasing the economic strength and the defensive power of our homeland and raising the people's well-being.

The civic qualities of the socialist working person and the need for conscientious work on his part for the common good shape up in the struggle for carrying out state plans; improving the quality of output; for a better use of production capacities, raw materials, energy, working time and capital investments; for enhancing organization and responsibility in the struggle against conservatism and bureaucratism and department and parochial tendencies. It is necessary support by all means of propaganda the initiatives of innovators in production, to popularize such organizational, economic, and moral measures which would encourage the executives, workers, scientists and designers to update equipment and help reduce the share of manual work. It is necessary to subordinate entirely economic propaganda and economic education to the needs of intensification of the national economy, to the molding of modern economic thinking, of socialist enterprise and efficiency. Economic studies at enterprises should be conducted in close connection with production training and should be regarded as one of the ways to enhance the efficiency of production.

The molding of Marxist-Leninist world outlook is the unshakeable foundation of communist education. It is important to see to it that all communists and working people deeply assimilate the revolutionary teaching of Marx, Engels, and Lenin--a teaching which gives the key to an understanding and solution of the enormously complicated problems of social development. The Central Committee considers it necessary to improve the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism, history, and the policy of the party and the experience of its work at different stages of the struggle for socialism. It is necessary to change the style of work in the network of party education and mass political training, to develop in every way active forms of such training, to link them more with practical work, to eradicate dogmatism and formalism. The meaning of political studies lies in the fact that everyone should have a deep understanding of the party's policy, be able to apply the knowledge gained in practical work and have a clear idea of his social duty and actually discharge it. It is necessary to improve the selection and training of propagandists and to make a wider use of the method of political self-education of communists, to consider it advisable to establish an All-Union Center for Political Education, to bring about a rise in the ideological and theoretical level in the teaching of social disciplines at educational establishments, to encourage in every way interest in the study of these subjects, and to tighten control over the quality of training of social science instructors, to prepare new textbooks and teaching aids on Marxism-Leninism.

The source of the ideological conviction of the Soviet citizen is in the historical righteousness of our cause, the revolutionary, transforming character of the Marxist-Leninist teaching, and the advantages of the socialist system. The political rights and freedoms of the citizens of the USSR and the social and cultural achievements of our society should be vividly revealed. The great aim outlined in theory, which was the dream of generations of communists--man's best minds--that is, the elimination of exploitation and oppression, has long become a reality in Soviet society. Now it is a matter of practical policy to efface class distinctions and achieve society's social homogeneity. An important task of ideological and educational work is to make sure that the revolutionary ideology and morality of the working class and its collectivist psychology, interests, and views will determine the spiritual makeup of all Soviet people. When publicizing the successes of socialism it is essential, at the same time, to indicate ways of overcoming the difficulties arising in the process of our development.

The fraternal union of nations and nationalities of the USSR, their joint work, their progressive coming closer together, and the mutual enrichment of their national cultures are most important factors for consolidating the cohesion of the Soviet people and successfully accomplishing the tasks of education in the spirit of socialist internationalism. This education should be conducted widely, persistently, in an organic combination with patriotic education, from the positions of party principle and irreconcilability to any manifestations of national narrow-mindedness or national nihilism, and with consideration for the feelings and dignity of the people of all nationalities.

It is essential to conduct the propaganda of scientific and materialistic views among the population more actively, to pay more attention to atheistic

education, to integrate believers in public life on a larger scale, and to introduce Soviet rites more persistently.

The Soviet way of life, the fundamental values of socialism should be propagandized skillfully and resourcefully. Everything progressive in social practice should be supported and the new quality of life of the working masses, comprising collectivism and comradeship, moral health and social optimism, conduct and everyday life, should be asserted and vividly revealed. Success in educational work is inconceivable without consistent struggle for a strict observance of the socialist principle of distribution and a correct use of the public consumption funds.

Socialist consciousness is being strengthened in keen struggle with relapses into petty bourgeois psychology and with the ideological influence of imperialist propaganda, exerted by way of various channels, on the minds of a part of the population. It is essential to create an atmosphere of intolerance to such phenomena as the use of state, public property for personal enrichment, speculation, bribery, and all sorts of parasitism on the humanism of our system; to consistently rely in the struggle against them on the activity of the masses and the ineluctable force of law; and to conduct purposeful work to mold the reasonable requirements, interests of the individual.

A task of party propaganda is to bring people the truth about the peaceful Leninist foreign policy and peace initiatives of the CPSU and the Soviet state aimed to curb the arms race and radically ameliorate international relations. The preservation of peace on earth is both today and in the foreseeable future the pivotal task of our party's foreign policy. Propaganda should make for stronger friendship and cooperation between the USSR and other socialist states, the cohesion of the international communist and working class movement, and successes by the peoples' national liberation struggle. The enemies of peace and progress and the militarist plans of imperialism, first of all U.S. imperialism, which today is the source of the threat of world war looming large over mankind, should be consistently and persistently exposed.

Propaganda is called upon convincingly to expose the anti-people essence of imperialism, its policy and ideology, and the inability of bourgeois society to cure social vices and eliminate national and racial injustice. The political vigilance of Soviet people, their irreconcilability to hostile views, and their ability to withstand the acts of ideological subversion by the class enemy and opportunist and revisionist attacks on real socialism, should be developed even further. To vigorously rebuff anti-Sovietism and anticommunism is a permanent task of the party committees and the mass media. A well-considered, integral, dynamic, and effective system of counterpropaganda is needed.

II

The press, television, and radio are effective instruments in the party's ideological work. In our society the press is a most important institution of socialist democracy, a means of drawing working people into discussing and

and resolving burning issues and of shaping public opinion. It successfully performs its educational and organizing role when it concentrates attention on the main directions in the activities of the party and the people, a serious analysis of a problem, and publicity for best experience. The press, television, and radio should captivate people and make them convinced of the points they make by means of an in-depth analysis of life, sound arguments, and fresh ideas and words; they should expertly propagandize the advantages of our system, and vividly reveal the character and makeup of the builder of a new life--the true hero of our epoch.

Party committees should direct the work of the mass media and propaganda bodies in a businesslike manner and without petty tutelage over them, help them to increase their militancy and prestige, ensure support for their principled raising of issues, and react sharply to failure to pay attention to problem-raising and critical material. The heads of ministries and departments, soviet, and public organizations should systematically advise the press about the activities of management bodies and the nature of the problems which are being coped with. They must respond to the press, television, and radio on the substance of criticisms appearing in articles and broadcasts and to advise the editorial boards in time about the measures that have been adopted in reaction to these criticisms.

Modern conditions demand that the structure of the press, in particular the departmental press, be perfected, and the ripe problems concerning city and district newspapers resolved. Special attention should be paid to making television news programs more informative and prompt in reporting news. Work to elaborate measures to increase the material and technical facilities available to the mass media and publishing houses, taking into account their growing significance, should be expedited.

To ensure the improvement of the training and upgrading of journalistic cadres. To develop the traditions of the mass workers' and rural correspondent movement. To educate journalists as active and bold searchers after new ways, as staunch political fighters. They must be notable for high ideamindedness, competence, and impeccable journalistic ethics.

Oral propaganda is a tested means of the party influence on the masses. It is essential more widely to use its resources for everyday direct contacts with people and for frank talk about questions that are uppermost in their minds. To consider it an important duty of the leaders of the party committees, ministries and departments, government agencies and economic organizations, to hold systematic discussions directly in the work collectives. To keep under strict party control the realization of the remarks and suggestions of the working people. The informing and instructing of political educators, current news commentators, propagandists, and lecturers should be improved and they should be taught to speak to an audience in a lively, attractive and convincing manner so that they could lead people.

Literature and art of socialist realism makes a great contribution to the enrichment of the intellectual life of the working people and to their education on communist ideals. Underlying the achievements of the Soviet

multinational artistic intelligentsia are its devotion to the cause of the party and strong links with the people's life.

In the party, guidance of the development of culture, an attitude of care and respect for talent should be organically combined with high adherence to principle and exactingness. The task of the creative unions and associations is to educate the workers in the field of culture in the spirit of responsibility to the people and to strengthen among them an atmosphere of ideological, ethical and aesthetical exactingness. Marxist-Leninist criticism, active, considerate and attentive to the creative quest must be the main method for influencing the creative endeavors. At the same time its duty is to give a clear-cut, party estimate of works which express views alien to our society and to our ideology and which depart from the historical truth. Neither can criticism regard condescendingly the artistically poor, vapid works. It is essential to give unceasing attention to the development of amateur creative activity and to bringing the masses into contact with the values of culture. Personal responsibility of the leaders of press media and institutions of culture for the ideological content and artistic standard of publications and repertory should be enhanced.

III

The CPSU Central Committee plenum makes it incumbent upon the party committees to improve considerably the guidance of ideological and mass political work. It is necessary that the party committees and their first secretaries scrutinize the state of affairs in this work and strive to secure close unity of the ideological education work with organizational-party and socioeconomic activities.

The party organizations, the soviets of people's deputies, the trade unions and the Komsomol should combine political education of the masses with drawing them actively into managing the affairs of society and the state and into organizing control. Greater scope should be given to the practice of the workers' participation in the preliminary discussion of the draft decisions on big matters of state and public life. Wide publicity should be ensured in the work of the management bodies, and a sense of belonging to the common cause should be cultivated in each worker. To raise the responsibility of the managerial personnel for the educative consequences of the economic activities, to approve the practice of discussion of education matters at conferences held by economic managers, to use more widely the educative power of the socialist emulation and the movement for communist attitude toward work, to direct the efforts of the emulators to the attainment of such goals as a rise in the quality of output and better utilization of production facilities and all types of resources, to pay special attention to the elaboration and introduction of effective forms of ideological and educational activities in the conditions of agroindustrial associations and production brigades.

The party committees should persistently press for the unity of ideological and political, labor and moral education, improvement of coordination of the means of ideological influence and the efforts of the public organizations, the work collectives, the family and school, and put all social groups within

the range of ideological influence. To disseminate systematically the best work experience, and to enhance the role of ideological commissions in this. Resolutely to combat stereotyped behavior and substitution of form for the essence of the matter. Unnecessary paperwork and speechifying, an estimate of work done by means of purely quantitative indicators are intolerable in the ideological work. The level of political consciousness and working activity of the masses is the main criterion of its effectiveness.

All efforts to organize ideological and education work are realized in the end in the work collective. It is there that main attention should be directed to and the best propagandist personnel must be concentrated. The party committees should enhance the role and importance of primary party organizations as the leading force and political nucleus of the work collectives, and their responsibility for the solution of socioeconomic matters, the communist education of the working people, for raising the degree of organization and conscious discipline, and for the development of criticism and self-criticism.

The party shows constant care for the younger generation on whom responsibility for the destiny of society will devolve in the coming decades. The task of the party organizations and the Komsomol is to draw the youth more widely into sociopolitical activities and to bring them up in the spirit of devotion to communist ideals and to develop the sense of pride for their country and the striving through personal work to promote its flourishing. To inculcate love for the armed forces of the USSR and strengthen readiness for the defense of the socialist motherland. To give unflagging attention to all social groups and age categories of young people--young workers and collective farmers, students and servicemen, and fully take into consideration their peculiarities. To fill the life of the Komsomol organizations with a great social content and eradicate the manifestations of overemphasis on organization and ostentation.

To raise the level of education work in schools and vocational schools, consistently to implement the Leninist principles of a united workers polytechnical school and to cultivate in schoolchildren habits of love for socially useful labor, to broaden their ideological outlook, shaping first of all in each of them the lofty qualities of the citizen of socialist society, an active builder of communism. To utilize more fully the resources of the school in esthetic education and physical training, to raise the prestige and authority of the teacher, to show more care for his qualification, working and living conditions, to improve considerably the training of specialists for the key branches of the national economy, and the ideological and political training of students in institutions of higher learning and technical schools.

In every way to perfect mass political work at the place of residence, to enhance the role of cultural and educational institutions in organizing spare-time activities of the working people, particularly in the countryside, to develop mass physical training and sports, to disseminate the experience in creating cultural and sports complexes in each district with their subordination, regardless of their departmental affiliation, to the local soviets.

It is important to conduct systematic scientific research into the effectiveness of educational work, to introduce more widely experience in setting up for these purposes scientific methodological centers and groups under the party committees. The USSR Academy of Sciences and the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee should make suggestions on enhancing the role of sociological research in organizing educational activities, on founding an all-union center, on the basis of the Sociological Research Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, for the study of the public opinion.

Cadres are the key element of ideological work. All party committees--republican, territorial, regional, area, city and district--must have specially trained cadres capable of ably organizing ideological work with different groups of the population and be responsible for it. Necessary conditions should be created for them and care should be taken of the systematic raising of their ideological and theoretical level and professional skills; to carry out additional measures to perfect the system of the training and advance training of all categories of ideological cadres. The ideological cadres must be an example of communist adherence to principle, highly exacting attitude to their work and responsibility for the entrusted work.

The implementation of the party's line towards perfection of developed socialism will make it possible to take a new big step forward in communist construction and will demonstrate still more convincingly the advantages of the socialist system and will enhance its magnetic force. To the communists there is no duty more honorable than to pass on the great ideals of Marxism-Leninism to the masses and reveal the insoluble connection between the party's policy and the vital interests of people, and to stimulate still more the social activeness of the working people.

The CPSU Central Committee plenum expresses firm confidence that the ideological cadres and all communists will devote their ability, energy and talent to the lofty cause of communist education, will further and creatively enrich the glorious traditions of the bolshevik propaganda and will achieve new successes in the accomplishment of the historic tasks facing the communist party and the Soviet people.

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CSO: 1802/15

K. U. CHERNENKO'S ADDRESS

LD161045 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian (signed to press 17 Jun 83) No 9, Jun 83
pp 46-47

[Speech delivered at the Ninth USSR Supreme Soviet Session, 10th Convocation]

[Text] Comrade deputies: The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Councils of Elders of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet introduce for your consideration a proposal for the election of Comrade Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, as chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium (tempestuous and lengthy applause. All rise).

This question was considered at the Central Committee plenum. In an atmosphere of complete unanimity, the plenum considered it expedient that Comrade Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, should also hold the post of chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium (lengthy applause).

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the Central Committee plenum proceeded on the assumption that the rise in the communist party's leading and guiding role in the life of Soviet society and in our domestic and foreign policy is accepted by the Soviet people and abroad as proof of the indivisibility of the authority of the party and the state, as an expression of the unity of mind and will of the party and people with complete justification.

Andropov's whole-hearted, energetic and enterprising activity as general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, his practical and human qualities, experience and political wisdom have won him the highest respect, trust, and sympathies of the party and the people. In him, Soviet communists, all working people, and our friends abroad see an outstanding leader of the Leninist type.

The further consolidation of the unity of the party and people, the continuity of course in our domestic and foreign policy, the measures--which have won the approval of the whole people--directed toward further perfecting the society of developed socialism and strengthening our homeland's economic and defensive might--are inextricably connected with the activities of Andropov.

The firm and consistent line of the communist party and the Soviet state, aimed at improving the international situation, redirecting the development

of events toward detente, and prevention of a thermonuclear disaster are inextricably connected with the activities of Andropov. Andropov authoritatively presents this line in the world arena.

The election of Comrade Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the position of chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium will serve the highest interests of our society and state, the successful fulfillment of the historic plans outlined by the 26th CPSU Congress, and the cause of communist construction.

Allow me, comrade deputies, to submit to your consideration the following draft decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the election of Comrade Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov as chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium:

The USSR Supreme Soviet resolves to elect Comrade Andropov, Yuriy Vladimirovich, as chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium (tempestuous and lengthy applause).

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USSR SUPREME SOVIET DECREE ON THE ELECTION OF COMRADE ANDROPOV, YU. V., USSR
SUPREME SOVIET PRESIDUM CHAIRMAN

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian (signed to press 17 Jun 83) No 9, Jun 83 p 48

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Decreases:

The election of Comrade Andropov, Yuriy Vladimirovich, as chairman of the
USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

First Deputy Chairman, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium V. Kuznetsov.

USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Secretary T. Menteshashvili.

Moscow, the Kremlin, 16 June 1983.

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CSO: 1802/15

YU. V. ANDROPOV'S SPEECH

LD161045 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian (signed to press 17 Jun 83) No 9, Jun 83
p 48

[Text] Esteemed comrade deputies:

Allow me, from the bottom of my heart, to express to you warm gratitude and thanks for the great confidence that you have shown to me in electing me chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium (lengthy applause).

I take your decision as an expression of confidence in our Leninist communist party, of which I have been a member for more than 40 years and to whose ideals I consider myself devoted.

Allow me to assure you that, as chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, I will apply all my efforts, all my knowledge, and all my experience to justify your great confidence with honor (tempestuous and lengthy applause).

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PREPARING FOR AN IMPORTANT ANNIVERSARY

^U180800 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian (signed to press 17 Jun 83) No 9, pp 49-60

[Article by V. Grishin, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Moscow Party Gorkom]

[Text] A date is approaching that is significant for every communist and for all the Soviet people--this is the 80th anniversary of the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party [RSDWP] which implemented V. I. Lenin's great idea of creating an independent political party of the workers class. This anniversary is celebrated by all progressive people on our planet, by all those who value the ideals of liberating the working people from exploitation and oppression and who struggle for the national independence and equality of the peoples, for peace, democracy and socialism.

It is precisely to the implementation of these ideals that the Leninist party devoted its activity from the very start, remaining true to them throughout its glorious history.

The theoretical elaboration and practical implementation of the doctrine of a new type of Marxist party, a revolutionary party united ideologically and organizationally, is Lenin's unfading merit. Lenin comprehensively substantiated and proved the fact that only a monolithic and disciplined party which creatively applies the theory of scientific communism in deeds express the basic interests and the highest goals of the proletariat and head the working masses in their struggle for political power and in the construction of a socialist society and its comprehensive progress on the way to communism.

A party emerged in the arena of history which was basically different from the parties of the Second International, which had lost the capability for revolutionary action. The emergence of a new type of party was of very great significance for Russia's destiny and for the development of the international workers and national-liberation movements.

Armed with Marxist-Leninist teaching, the party of bolshevik-communists led the working masses of our country to the victorious October and organized their titanic collective activity aimed at building a socialist state and society. Under the leadership of the communist party, the Soviet people defended and consolidated their socialist gains and thus exerted a great influence on the course of world history.

The path covered by the Leninist party is a genuinely heroic path of struggle and victories, notes the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the 80th Anniversary of the Second RSDWP Congress." In the party the Soviet people see their tested vanguard, they completely support its domestic and foreign policy and actively struggle for its implementation.

The preparation for the anniversary of the Second Congress provides a new impulse for the political and organizational work of the party. Preparing to mark it in an appropriate manner, the Soviet people are rallying even closer around the Leninist party and its Central Committee. They are full of resolve to continue the struggle energetically for the implementation of the decisions taken by the 26th CPSU Congress, the subsequent plenums of its Central Committee and the tasks put forward by Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in his speeches at the November (1982) and June (1983) Central Committee plenums, in his report "The 60th Anniversary of the USSR," in his article "The Teaching of Karl Marx and Some Questions of Social Construction in the USSR," and in other speeches and documents.

I

During the 8 decades that have passed, the Leninist party, supported by the peoples' masses, accomplished deeds of great social significance and historic proportions of a kind that have not yet been accomplished by any other political organization in the world.

Heading the struggle of the workers class and the working people of Russia in the course of three revolutions and in accordance with its first program adopted by its Second Congress, the party succeeded in overthrowing tsarist autocracy and the authority of landlords and the bourgeoisie, establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, creating the first state of workers and peasants in the world, and establishing the broadest possible democracy for the working people. The Great October and the entire subsequent social development convincingly confirmed the historic correctness and vital force of Lenin's doctrine of a workers class party and the international significance of its experience.

Along the entire long, complicated and heroic path covered by the party, the Moscow party organization has been and continues to be its combat vanguard and a true assistant of the Central Committee. The Moscow Social Democratic organization which was formed with Lenin's direct participation played a significant role in preparing the Second RSDWP Congress and creating a Marxist party of a new type. The Moscow RSDWP Committee was one of the first to recognize the organizational committee for convening the Second Congress and assisted this body in all possible ways in its work. N. E. Bauman, elected to represent Moscow at this congress, supported Lenin's point of view on all issues that were discussed there. The report on the Social Democratic movement in Moscow which was submitted to the congress stated: "...We have here very fertile ground for social democratism. We only need skillful disseminators.... The Moscow proletariat will immediately demonstrate its great revolutionary force as soon as it is headed by a strong social democratic

organization.... The first successes in Moscow will be the best guarantee of our near and final victory." ("Second RSDWP Congress. Protocols." Moscow, 1959, pp 638-639).

In its decision the RSDWP Moscow Committee expressed its full solidarity with the resolutions of the Second Congress and declared that it wholly submits to the central party institutions. The Moscow bolsheviks were a reliable support for Lenin and his confederates in their struggle against the menshevik attempts to disorganize the party ranks, disrupt their unity and wreck the implementation of the decisions taken by the congress. Subsequently as well as at all the upheavals of history the Moscow bolsheviks invariably stood on Leninist positions.

This was the case in the course of the 1905-1907 revolution: The Moscow workers led by the bolsheviks were the first to storm tsarist autocracy and, as Lenin noted, displayed "unforgettable heroism" and set "an example of struggle for all the working masses of Russia" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.", Complete Collected Works], vol 42, p 200). This was also the case during the February bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1917.

In these days the Moscow bolshevik organization headed the city workers who, together with the working people of Petrograd, were the initiators of the mass revolutionary movement which culminated in overthrowing tsarism.

Lenin ascribed exceptional significance to the actions of the Moscow bolsheviks during the period of preparing and carrying out the socialist revolution, and was of the opinion that its fate would be decided first and foremost in the workers' quarters of Petrograd and Moscow. In the legendary October and November days of 1917, Moscow workers justified the hopes of their leader. Led by the bolsheviks, they made a great contribution to accomplishing the October Revolution. The victory of the revolutionary masses in Moscow was a major factor in consolidating the worldwide historic victory of October and of the triumphant march of the new and genuinely Soviet authority throughout our country.

In March 1918, on Lenin's initiative, Moscow became the capital of the first state of workers and peasants in the world. Its role as the political center of the country grew immeasurably. The responsibility of the Moscow party organization for fulfilling party decisions, implementing the Leninist plan of socialist construction, and defending the revolutionary gains was enhanced even further.

At the time of the imperialist intervention and the Civil War the Moscow party organization sent its best forces to the front. Evaluating the heroic feat accomplished by the Soviet capital in these years, Lenin noted that the main part of the struggle against counterrevolution fell to the lot of the Moscow workers class (op. cit., vol 51, p 97).

The Moscow party organization played an important role in defending the Leninist principles of party building and party life, namely, democratic centralism, and the ideological and organizational unity of the party ranks

in their struggle against the Trotskyites and rightist and "leftist" opportunists who were trying to spread factionalism and clannishness, thus depriving the party of its combat qualities.

The communists and the working people of the capital were in the vanguard of the struggle directed by the party Central Committee for the socialist industrialization of the country, collectivization in agriculture, cultural revolution and the implementation of the Leninist national policy and for raising the defense potential of the Soviet state.

The Moscow party organization made a great contribution to the nationwide cause of defeating the German fascist invaders during the Great Patriotic War. From the first days of the war, it mobilized all the forces of the working people in the capital to rebuff the enemy: Over 50 percent of Moscow's communists joined the Field Forces and over 2 million city and oblast dwellers fought at the fronts. The great Moscow battle that marked the beginning of a radical turn in the course of the Great Patriotic War and all of World War II went down in history as an unfading heroic feat of the Soviet people and their glorious Armed Forces. The population of the city displayed mass heroism in battle and labor. For its outstanding service to the fatherland and for the courage and staunchness displayed by the working people of the USSR capital in the struggle against the German fascist invaders, Moscow was awarded the honorary title of "Hero City."

The Muscovites selflessly worked in all sectors of the postwar reconstruction and development of the USSR national economy.

The path covered by our country to the victory of socialism in the first practical experience in history of creating a new social system that has given freedom and happiness to the working people and secured unprecedented rates of speed in the comprehensive political, economic, social and intellectual progress. Performing the honorable and, at the same time, complex historic role of discoverer could not have been and was not an easy task for the Soviet people. Novelty was not the sole reason for this.

The building of a new state and the revolutionary transformation of the society on socialist principles had to be performed in intense struggle, overcoming bitter resistance on the part of the overthrown exploiter classes and repelling the diverse intrigues and aggressive attacks undertaken by international imperialism.

We are proud of the fact that the Soviet people have repelled all the attacks of the forces of counterrevolution and imperialism and have built a society of developed socialism, successfully following at present the path of communist construction. They have raised high the international authority and influence of their fatherland.

The basic fact that, under unusually difficult conditions, the Soviet country has risen to the heights of social progress speaks of a great deal, and first of all of the fact that it is precisely a leading organization such as the Leninist party formed at the Second RSDWP Congress that the workers class and

the working masses need. Such is the objective historical necessity. Only if headed by a truly revolutionary party can the people emerging on the path of socialism in a short historical time multiply by many times their material and intellectual forces and successfully build a new society, the laws of whose creation and development have been scientifically substantiated by Marx, Engels and Lenin.

II

Summing up the historic experience of the CPSU and revealing the nature and tasks of its activity at the contemporary stage, the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the 80th Anniversary of the Second RSDWP Congress" emphasizes the stability of the ideological and organizational foundations elaborated by Lenin and the characteristic features and peculiarities of the new type of party. In its entire activity the CPSU is guided by Marxist-Leninist teaching and develops it creatively, securing the unity of revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice.

The Leninist principles and Leninist ideas live in the present-day activity of our party and in its struggle to develop further the economy and culture and to raise the level of people's well-being and in its indefatigable activity aimed at consolidating the peace and security of the peoples, and to prevent the threat of nuclear war created by the aggressive imperialist circles.

The Moscow city party organization unflinchingly and consistently pursues the general party line and comes out as a reliable supporter of its Central Committee in solving the tasks of communist construction. The party gorkom, raykoms and primary party organizations strive to raise the level of organizational and ideopolitical work among Muscovites and perfect the party leadership in the economic and cultural building in order to implement most effectively the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the subsequent Central Committee plenums as well as to fulfill the tasks of the 11th Five-Year Plan. Questions of developing industry and transport, capital construction and urban economy, science and technological progress, and of raising the effectiveness and quality of work are in the center of their attention. Every year high socialist obligations are assumed in the city and the patriot initiatives of innovators and leading workers are disseminated.

As a result, in 1981 and 1982 the plans of economic and social development of the capital were fulfilled ahead of time. As regards the results of the all-union socialist competition to mark the 60th anniversary of the USSR, the city of Moscow, two of its districts, and more than 100 collectives have been awarded the Red Banners of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU, and the Komsomol Central Committee, whereas four other districts and 27 enterprises and organizations were awarded the Red Banners of the RSFSR Council of Ministers and the AUCCTU.

The city party organization persistently strives to speed up the reconstruction and technical reequipment of enterprises, intensify their specialization in producing items of a high technological level and quality, secure higher workload for the production capacities and the prevailing growth of labor

productivity as compared to the growth of production volume. The technical level of many Moscow enterprises has gone up. Many new production facilities have been built to replace the old ones. In the 2 years of the 11th 5-year period, 400 workshops, sectors and production branches were comprehensively mechanized and automated, 700 mechanized conveyor-belt and automatic lines and 4300 new progressive technological processes were introduced.

The development of the city's industrial base and scientific-technical progress made it possible in 1981-1982 to increase industrial production by 3.2 percent as opposed to 1.7 percent envisaged in the plan. Millions of rubles' worth of output was produced above the plan. It is noteworthy that the entire production increase was due to raising labor productivity, which went up 4.2 percent as opposed to 2.1 percent envisaged in the plan. It is well known that at present when the problem of labor resources has been particularly exacerbated, raising labor productivity becomes of truly paramount importance for the progress of the economy and the solution of social problems.

On the basis of perfecting production, the technical characteristics and the quality of the Moscow production have been substantially improved. Almost 270 new types of production have been mastered, including a number of up-to-date highly effective machines, equipment, instruments and automation means. A total of 44 percent of all items subjected to certification which are produced by the Moscow industry receive the state quality emblem.

Guided by the decisions and principles of the CPSU Central Committee the party organization pays great attention to saving and rationally utilizing all kinds of resources. Plans for organizational-technical measures aimed at reducing the expenditure of materials, raw materials, fuel and electric power are worked out and implemented at the enterprises and in the organizations of our capital. Low-waste and no-waste technological processes are introduced, secondary resources are introduced into the economic process and the workers have personal economy accounts. A number of collectives have taken the initiative to utilize more actively the achievements of science and technology with the aim of guaranteeing the economy of resources; this initiative is being widely disseminated. This made it possible in the 2 years of the 5-year period to save the city's national economy 100,000 metric tons of metal, over a billion KWh of electric power, 645,000 metric tons of fuel, and many different materials.

The concern about the well-being of Soviet man was and continues to be the general line of our party, as the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the 80th Anniversary of the Second RSDWP Congress" emphasizes. Serious efforts are undertaken in our capital to fulfill the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers on increasing the production, improving the quality, and expanding the variety of consumer goods. New capacities have been introduced in light and local industry.

In 2 years the volume of these goods has increased 3.5 percent and the tasks regarding the production of items of cultural, domestic, and household nature have been overfulfilled. About 70 percent of the models of clothes, shoes, and textiles are renewed every year. The quality of many mass consumption items has notably improved.

It is known what great attention our party pays to the implementation of the Food Program. The practical questions of its implementation and of developing the country's agriculture were discussed at the meeting of the first secretaries of central committees of the communist parties of union republics and party kraykoms and obkoms held in April 1983. The directions contained in Comrade Yu. V. Andropov's speech at this meeting lay the foundation of the practical work of the Moscow city party organization which is making its own contribution to fulfilling the Food Program.

This work is carried out in Moscow in accordance with the plan adopted by the city party organization. In 1982 the volume of machinery, equipment, spare parts, and materials for agriculture and the processing industries produced in the capital exceeded 400 million rubles. A series of topical research programs were carried out by the collectives of scientific and design and blueprinting organizations and designs of many new machines and mechanisms were worked out for the branches of the agroindustrial complex. The production of dozens of new types of foods was mastered. The development of subsidiary farms attached to industrial enterprises was activated.

The working people of the capital are increasing and strengthening their ties with village workers. A substantial volume of works was accomplished by the city construction organizations within the framework of the Food Program. Big livestock-breeding complexes, poultry farms, and hothouses were built in Moscow Oblast and some other other oblasts. In 2 years work amounting to 51 million rubles was carried out at the village construction sites in the Nonchernozem Zone. Besides, the total volume of patronage assistance to the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of Moscow Oblast amounted to 58 million rubles.

Improving transport is of great importance for the life of a multimillion city such as Moscow. The efforts of the city party organization are directed at consolidating the material-technical base of the transport enterprises and improving their operation. The technical equipment of the freight automobile and city passenger transport has been improved and its rolling stock renewed. The network of surface passenger transport has been expanded. Transport services for the residents of new microregions have been improved. The subway system continues to be developed.

The activity of the Moscow railway junction is being perfected. The initiatives of frontrank collectives in driving heavy freight trains and repairing railcars and containers utilizing the resources of the industrial enterprises themselves are being broadly disseminated. The average weight of a freight train has been considerably increased. In the last 6 months the enterprises of the Moscow railway junction and the city industry repaired 65,000 railcars and about 70,000 containers. Due to these measures as well as to mechanizing the basic labor consuming transportation processes, the transporting of freight has increased.

Another important aspect in the life of the capital and the activity of the city party organization is the implementation of the general plan for Moscow's development and the further perfection of the capital construction and the city economy.

Evaluating that which has been accomplished, the city party organization is at the same time clearly aware of its responsibility for solving the problems put forward by the development of our society at the contemporary stage. It was on these problems that Comrade Yu. V. Andropov concentrated the attention of the party and all the people in his speech at the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and in his report: "The 60th Anniversary of the USSR." The content of these documents and their conclusion that it is "turning into deeds and not fancy words"--which is particularly needed at the present time--fully correspond to the feelings of the Muscovites as well as of all the Soviet people.

It is precisely tuning in to actions and to achieving ever more substantial economic results that characterizes the activity of the city party organization and the working people of Moscow. In response to the decisions of the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the collectives of the front-rank enterprises and organizations of the capital assumed socialist obligations aimed at improving labor organization, enhancing the struggle against bad management and violations of labor discipline and public order, and instilling in every Muscovite a conscientious attitude to labor duty and high responsibility for fulfilling his civil obligations.

It is known that the initiative of the Muscovites was approved by the CPSU Central Committee. A mass movement under the motto "Honor and Glory--According to Work" has developed in the city; discipline and the state of organization at production sites are growing stronger. The socialist obligations for 1983--a year of decisive significance for fulfilling the 11th Five-Year Plan--assumed by the Muscovites envisage achieving new substantial results in all the sectors of the city's national economy by way of accelerating scientific-technical progress and perfecting the organization of labor and management. The party organizations of the capital are persistently pursuing a course aimed at including internal economic reserves in production, increasing the capital-output ratio and the quality of work, and reducing production and building costs as well as the expenditure of labor and of financial, material and energy resources.

As we already noted, the plans for raising labor productivity are on the whole fulfilled and even overfulfilled in our city. However, we are still not completely satisfied with the rates of its growth as achieved in the branches of the national economy. There are shortcomings both in the economy and in people's education. The city party organization directs the efforts of labor collectives at finding and more fully utilizing the possibilities for quickly raising labor productivity, accelerating scientific-technical progress, perfecting the organization of production, improving the utilization of labor resources, and strengthening discipline.

We are striving for a principled and businesslike atmosphere to be created everywhere in Moscow, such as would exclude the manifestations of irresponsibility, lack of organization, and bad management.

The plans for commissioning housing and schools and for setting up engineering communications have been fulfilled. The planning and architectural-artistic design of residential districts have been improved and the effectiveness of using the city territory enhanced. The construction of buildings using items of the unified parts catalogue is proceeding in a planned manner. The building materials industry is being developed and the production of new effective materials and constructions is well-organized.

It is known that Moscow possesses a huge scientific potential, and it is understandable that the questions of developing science occupy one of the central places in the activity of the city party organization. In recent years the majority of the scientific collectives of our capital have on the whole been successfully fulfilling approved plans. The economic effectiveness of the work of scientific-research institutes and design bureaus has increased and the average duration of working out and implementing scientific discoveries and new technology has been reduced. The collectives of Moscow institutes are the main developers and coexecutors of the very important comprehensive scientific-technical programs envisaged by the state plan for the economic and social development of the USSR. The scientific-technical cooperation based on contracts between the scientific establishments and industrial, building, and transport enterprises is being expanded. At present 11,000 contracts of this type are being fulfilled. A total of 43 scientific-industrial associations are currently at work bringing good results. Research and experiment subdivisions--branches of laboratories and departments of institutes--have been formed at the leading city enterprises. Joint creative brigades of scientists and production workers have been organized in many collectives. The union of creative thought and creative work forecast by Lenin is being implemented.

Successes in economic development also make it possible to solve social problems. The wages of workers and employees have gone up, including in Moscow. Public consumption funds have increased. In the 2 years of the 5-year period the retail trade volume in the capital went up by 2.1 billion rubles and the volume of everyday services by 10.5 percent. The living conditions of the people continue to improve. Particular attention is paid to improving the living conditions of invalids and participants in the Great Patriotic War, large families, cadre workers, and party and labor veterans. Much has been done to improve the medical services for Muscovites.

The party concern about the individual and about constantly improving the conditions of his life, work and recreation creates a favorable moral atmosphere in the city and makes Muscovites strive to work even better and more productively.

The description of what the working people of Moscow live by would be incomplete without noting that their creative efforts aimed at fulfilling the tasks of the 11th Five-Year Plan are linked with the work aimed at making the capital an exemplary communist city. The competition between Moscow enterprises and organizations to be titled exemplary as regards the level of their production and educational work became one of the first stages in solving this task. This title has already been won by more than 200 labor collectives.

III

Our people rightfully connect their worldwide historic successes in building a new society and their confidence in an even better future with the communist party.

A well-known idea suggested by Lenin at the Second RSDWP Congress--that "we must strive to raise the title and significance of a party member higher, higher, and higher..." (op. cit., vol 7, pp 290-291)--is of great political, organizational-party, and moral significance and does not lose its topicality.

The Soviet people speak with legitimate pride of the boundless authority of the CPSU and of their complete trust and full support of its political course. This is connected with the fact that party members have always been and continue to be loyal to Leninism and to Lenin's behests. Under the conditions of developed socialism and as an all-people's party the CPSU does not lose its class character and, in its essence, continues to be the party of the workers class. Its leading and directing role in the life of the Soviet society is enhanced.

The history of our party and its present domestic and foreign policy is a convincing illustration of the fact that the CPSU has been and continues to be able to foresee the course of events, correctly evaluate the situation, and work out a substantiated course. Here we have the same source--the party's loyalty to the doctrine, ideological banner, and behests of its founder.

Creatively applying and developing Marxism-Leninism the CPSU is summing up and analyzing the historic experience and enriching the ideological arsenal of the working masses that are building communism with new principles and conclusions.

Over 18 million people are now in the CPSU ranks. Its growing ranks demonstrate the striving on the part of an ever increasing number of Soviet people to directly bind their lives and destiny with party affairs and be among those who march in the vanguard of the nationwide forward movement along the path of perfecting the society of developed socialism. At the same time the party is far from paying excessive attention to its numerical growth. What is more, with every new stage ever growing demands are placed on party members. This is fully in accordance with the principles of party membership which Lenin resolutely defended at the Second RSDWP Congress struggling against the mensheviks and demanding people to "guard the firmness, staunchness and purity of our party" (op. cit., vol 7, p 290).

The CPSU is concerned with the strict observance of the Leninist norms of party life and perfects the forms and methods of its political and organizational activity. Consistently implementing democratic centralism, it develops intraparty democracy and strengthens party disciplines, enhances the responsibility of every communist for the assigned task and the combat efficiency of all its organizations and expands its ties with the masses. Its ties with the masses provide the party with the irreplaceable opportunity to find and support that which is new and prevent it from taking inaccurate and faulty steps.

The party ascribes great significance to affirming the Leninist style of work everywhere. The content of this concept is enriched by taking into account the accumulated experience and the necessity to provide solutions for tasks of increasing scope and complexity. The Leninist style has always required and continues to require a scientific approach to social processes, constant support of the masses, a party-minded and highly businesslike attitude, concreteness and exactingness, development of criticism and self-criticism, and irreconcilability to any manifestations of foreign formalism, bureaucracy and showiness. The party Central Committee provides an example of this style of which the decisions of the November 1982 and June 1983 CPSU Central Committee plenums were new confirmations.

The party organization of the capital marks the 80th anniversary of the Second RSDWP Congress closely rallied around its Central Committee and the Central Committee Politburo, even further strengthened politically and organizationally and enriched with the new experience of leading the masses. Today its ranks number 1.1 million full and candidate party members. The practice of accepting members into the CPSU ranks and educating a new party generation has been perfected. Consistently pursued is the course of accepting into the party the best workers from the sphere of social production, Komsomol members, and youth.

After the 26th CPSU Congress the activeness and militancy of the primary party organizations were enhanced in its Moscow organization, just as they were in the party as a whole. Their structure is being perfected. A total of 600 party groups have additionally been formed in production brigades. The number of labor collectives in the service sphere that have communists among their members has gone up. The party gorkom and raykoms and the party organizations see it as their important task to perfect even more actively their organizational work and the forms and methods of party leadership in accordance with the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress.

The party organizations of the capital strive to guarantee an unconditioned fulfillment of the envisaged measures aimed at improving the style of work and to make sure that the adopted resolutions are supported by the appropriate organizational activity. Summing up and disseminating the positive experience, enhancing the role of information in the system of party leadership, studying the opinions and feelings of the working people, strictly controlling the analysis of incoming letters and applications, and perfecting the organization of receiving citizens are called upon to play an important role here. The Moscow CPSU City Gorkom persistently orients communists of the capital toward incessantly perfecting party work so that it corresponds to the high present-day requirements.

Taking into account that the combat efficiency of party organizations depends to a decisive degree on the activeness of party members and on their observance of the requirements stated in the CPSU statute, the party committees and bureaus at the enterprises and in organizations are first of all striving to enhance the vanguard role of communists. Here talks with communists and their reports on their personal contributions to fulfilling the decisions of the 26th Party Congress make a valuable contribution. These are effective

forms of the party collective's control over how communists fulfill their party obligations. The measures that we implement are directed at making the life and activity of party organizations a realization of Lenin's idea that every party member is responsible for the party and the party is responsible for its every member.

The level of organizational work of CPSU raykoms and primary party organizations is rising. Great significance is ascribed to improving its planning, analyzing the state of affairs in labor collectives, and offering practical assistance locally and reducing the number of meetings and sittings. Controlling and checking execution as well as informing communists of the implementation of proposals and criticisms voiced by them are being enhanced. The work of commissions controlling the activity of the administration and the work of the apparatus has been activated. For the first time such commissions have been elected in the party organizations in workshops. There are over 1,000 such commissions in our city. Altogether there are about 32,000 communists participating in them, of whom every third is a worker.

Lenin repeatedly pointed out that success depends on selecting the people and checking execution. The party gorkom and raykoms persistently improve the quality, distribution, and education of the cadres and enhance their responsibility for the entrusted task. The city CPSU organization has at its disposal qualified and politically mature cadres of party and Soviet workers and economic managers. The system of their education is being perfected. In 2 recent years at the Moscow CPSU Gorkom alone about 3,000 party and Soviet workers attended additional education courses. The citywide conferences of the secretaries of primary party organizations and party group leaders, which have become traditional, contribute to disseminating the best experience of party work.

The leadership of the soviet, trade union and Komsomol organizations and the organs of people's control are a subject of particular attention of the city party organization. The role of the soviets of people's deputies in implementing the plans of socioeconomic development has been enhanced and the initiative and activeness of the trade union organizations in developing the socialist competition, in managing production, and educating the working people has grown. The city Komsomol organization is playing an ever increasing role in the communist education of youth. The organs of people's control have begun to influence more actively the elimination of shortcomings and are more fully and effectively bringing to light production reserves.

From the day when it was formed our party, loyal to Lenin's behests, has always ascribed and continues to ascribe very great importance to ideological and mass-political work, to the Marxist-Leninist tempering of communists, and to the ideological and moral education of the working people.

Fulfilling the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress the city party organization took substantial measures aimed at perfecting ideological and political-educational work and strengthening its ties with life as well as enhancing its operativeness and militancy. The structure of the political education

system has been changed, and measures have been taken to improve its content; the requirement for communists to raise their ideo-theoretical level has been enhanced. Students are given more substantial assistance in studying theory, the classic works of Marxism-Leninism, and CPSU history.

United political days, informational conferences, and days of open letters have become effective forms of maintaining ties between the party organizations and the masses. More than 20,000 leading party, Soviet, trade union, and economic workers speak to the working people every month. The responsibility of the cadres for participating in educational work has been enhanced.

Much attention is devoted to the education of the growing generation and of youth. The party gorkom and raykoms and party organizations are concerned with perfecting the instruction and education of those attending school and of college students. They are striving to make sure that the Komsomol members and the youth are well-acquainted with party history and implement its policy and decisions.

The creative workers of the capital make a considerable contribution to the cause of communist education. They have created quite a number of works of literature and art dealing with the topical problems of today. These works reveal from party positions the intellectual and moral socialist values and the high moral qualities of the Soviet people. The social activeness of the artistic intelligentsia has also increased, and the ties of its organizations with labor collectives have been further developed.

The contemporary situation requires the effectiveness of educational work to be considerably enhanced. In his report on the 60th anniversary of the USSR, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov emphasized: "A convincing and concrete portrayal of our achievements and a serious analysis of the new problems constantly generated by life as well as the freshness of thought and word--this is the way to perfect our entire propaganda which must always be true and realistic as well as interesting, easy to understand, and thus more effective."

Imperialist reaction, first and foremost the ruling U.S. circles, strive to alter the course of the historic clash between the two social systems to their advantage and suppress the world revolutionary process. The reaction inflates the "crusade" against the Soviet Union, other countries of the socialist community, and the forces of national and social liberation. In its practical manifestations this is a policy of unprecedented arms race, including nuclear arms, political, economic and ideological pressure on real socialism, and brutal suppression of the people's struggle for freedom and social progress. All this requires that the vigilance of the Soviet people be enhanced, the power of our fatherland consolidated, and counterpropaganda intensified; it also requires the conscientious work of every person at his working place.

We note with great satisfaction the increased attention paid by the party to guiding the ideological life of the Soviet society and the communist education of the Soviet people. This is convincingly attested to by the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

Moscow communists fully and entirely approve of the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee plenum and the programmatic principles and conclusions contained in the speech delivered at the plenum by Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary. These decisions were placed at the basis of the entire activity of the Moscow city party organization.

The main task that at present occupies the city and primary organizations is to raise the entire ideological, educational, and propaganda work to the level of those great and complex tasks that are solved by the party in the process of perfecting developed socialism.

Thorough studies of the CPSU historic experience, its theory and politics is of invaluable significance for developing the skill of how to staunchly defend Marxism-Leninism, our communist ideology and real socialism. The preparations for the 80th anniversary of the Second RSDWP Congress open up great opportunities for perfecting our organizational and ideopolitical work. Publications, lectures and reports devoted to this event are called upon to bring to light the worldwide historic gains of the Soviet people and the great significance of the titanic activity of the Leninist party aimed at further developing our socialist society.

Immediately after the publication of the CPSU Central Committee resolution the Moscow city party organization broadly developed its propaganda and mass-political work aimed at marking the 80th anniversary of the Second RSDWP Congress in an appropriate manner. This document was studied during the final lectures at political schools and theoretical seminars and was discussed at regional scientific-practical conferences. Thousands of lectures have already been delivered at the enterprises, in offices and in residential quarters; meetings with workers have taken place at plants, factories and construction sites. Evenings devoted to this topic, spoken journals and meetings between the youth and party veterans, participants in the October Revolution, the civil war and the Great Patriotic War are taking place in labor collectives, clubs, houses of culture and propaganda centers. Topical exhibitions devoted to the approaching anniversary have been opened. A city exhibition on the same topic is being prepared. In July a united political day will be devoted to the historic significance of the Second RSDWP Congress.

Public-political lectures on the subject "Party as the mind, honor and conscience of our era" are taking place in the capital. These lectures discuss the heroic struggle of the party and the Soviet people for the revolutionary transformation of the society on the principles of socialism, democracy, social justice and peace, responding to the expectations of the working people. The theory-based power of the party, its wisdom and revolutionary courage are brilliantly revealed in Lenin's doctrine, in his great scientific discovery of the possibility of socialist victory in a single country, a doctrine on whose base the Russian workers class headed by the bolshevik party displayed historic initiative and destroyed the system of exploitation and oppression in one of the biggest countries of the world. There has not been a single reactionary action on the part of the bourgeois governments and parties that the Leninist party has not condemned. Likewise there has not been a single genuinely revolutionary movement in the world that the CPSU

has not supported. History confirms that our Leninist party is indeed the mind, honor and conscience of our era. Our party consistently comes out in support of the cohesion of the countries of the socialist community and the communist and workers movement. It actively struggles for the security of the peoples, for putting an end to the arms race, including nuclear arms and for eliminating the danger of a new war and for peace.

The Moscow city party organization links its entire propaganda and mass-political work aimed at preparing for the 80th anniversary of the Second KSDWP Congress with the struggle of the communists and all the working people of the capital for implementing the party political course and the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the subsequent Central Committee plenums.

The frontrank workers and labor collectives are striving to fulfill their socialist obligation: by 30 July 1983, that is, by the 80th anniversary of the Second Congress, to complete all the production tasks of 3 years of the five-year plan.

The communists and all the working people of Moscow unanimously support the Leninist domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU and by their outstanding work contribute to the realization of the plans of building communism and securing peace on earth.

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VICTORIOUS RECORD OF BATTLE AND CONSTRUCTION

Moscow KOMPUNIST in Russian (signed to press 17 Jun 83) No 9, Jun 83 pp 61-72

[Article by Boris Ponomarev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and CPSU Central Committee secretary]

[Text] There is no corner on this planet today where people would be unaware of the existence of the Soviet Union--the great socialist state without exploiters and without economic, political and ethnic oppression, and where the land, plants and mines, railroads and banks, news media, cultural institutions and health services are public property.

It is natural for the great mass of the people everywhere to want to know how this historically unprecedented society has arisen. How, for the first time in the thousands of years of exploitative relations, have the workers and peasants of a huge country succeeded in proving it possible to get rid of tsarism, abolishing the capitalist order and creating a society of free and equal working people?

Within the space of a few decades, this country jumped from backwardness to progress. The Soviet people have built a developed socialist society, turned their country into a mighty socialist power, created a crisis-proof planned economy, a system of true people's rule, advanced culture, science and technology and blazed the trail for mankind into outer space.

The truth of life has been breaking all barriers erected by false imperialist propaganda slandering the Soviet Union and its great accomplishments. It is increasingly making its way into the minds and hearts of the world's working people. People of many nations have visited the Soviet Union during the 65 decades of its existence. They have seen with their own eyes a new world--the world of socialism and the new society building communism. The nations of the world have come to see that the Soviet Union is the main bulwark of peace, and that it is tirelessly working to stave off the threat of another world war.

The experience of the first-ever socialist country and now that of a number of other socialist countries has indicated the high and victorious road to a free and secure life, to democracy, peace, and genuine human happiness. Under the influence of their example, the peoples are increasingly determined to do away with exploitation, cast off the shackles of national and social oppression, and win a life worthy of man.

What was the reason for this greatest miracle in world history?

It was because long before the October Revolution, there had been a fighting revolutionary party in Russia, the one launched at the Second Congress of the RSDWP [Russian Social Democratic Workers Party] in July 1903. Inspired by the genius of V. I. Lenin, who combined revolutionary courage and the precise, scientific assessment of the real situation and actual opportunities for revolutionary change, that this party succeeded in discovering the underlying principles behind Russia's socioeconomic and political development, taking into account, from every point of view, the objective domestic and international conditions for the making of a revolution. It ensured the fusion of the labor movement with scientific socialism, consistently championed the interests of the workers, peasants and working intelligentsia, enlightened the masses, and led them to storm the pillars of the old world.

The history of the CPSU is Marxism-Leninism in action and creative development. Leninism has become our party's flesh and blood, and has been our guide for decades in resolving both short-term and long-term problems. For the peoples, this party has proved to be a conscious and organized force capable of materializing the centuries-old aspirations of working men, radically changing the image of Russia, and reshaping the foreign policy of the state. The study of the record of the CPSU arms the communists and all working people with an actually tried and tested knowledge of the laws of social development, class struggle and the laws governing building socialism and communism.

Nurtured by the great Lenin, the communist party covered a path of heroic accomplishments, hard tests and universal-historical victories, unequaled by any other political party in the world. Having sprung up as small Marxist groups operating in the midst of Russia's working class movement since the 1880s and as the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, created by Lenin, the party developed into a great force in charge of the socialist state, closely related to the people.

The history of the CPSU may be divided into two great periods: the pre-October period, when the party roused the proletariat and the toiling masses to action to overthrow the rule of the exploiters and establish that of the working class, and the post-October period, when it became the governing party of the first socialist workers' and peasants' state in history and headed the Soviet people's struggle in the victory of socialism and communism. Either of these periods is a subject for endless study. The main concern should be, however, to draw the proper lessons from it and sum up the party's enormous record of experience in guiding the masses in every area of social life--ideological, political, organizational and economic.

The paramount value of the CPSU experience is that this is a victorious experience, the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the victory in the Civil War of 1918-1920, the victory in the Great Patriotic War, the victory in industrialization and introduction of collective farming, the victory in the cultural revolution and in resolving the national problem, and the victory of socialism in general have been the major landmarks in the Leninist party's succession of historic achievements which nobody can deny, which the skeptics

cannot play down and adversaries cannot discredit. Therein lies the force and the lasting value of the experience of the CPSU for all peoples.

I

The success of the revolutionary movement required above all to build a party capable of leading it forward. Lenin had spent many years prior to the October Revolution working to achieve that purpose. Built on the ideological, political and organizational principles elaborated by Lenin, the Bolshevik Party was the first-ever revolutionary Marxist party of the working class in the international labor movement, a party of a new type. It emerged as an advanced and organized contingent of the Russian proletariat and as the highest form of its organization.

The formation of the Leninist party was a logical result of social development and a breakthrough in the history of the Russian and international labor movement. What set our party apart from all foreign social-democratic parties was its ideological and organizational cohesion, its revolutionary commitment and consistency of purpose. No other party had ever called on the working class to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, as was written into the BWP Program in 1903. None of them had so exacting a statute to govern the party's internal life as the Bolshevik Party.

To achieve the aim of overthrowing tsarism and capitalism and establishing the rule of the working people with the working class at their head, the bolsheviks had resolved three major objectives before the October Revolution: consolidating the party itself in every way, ideologically, politically, and organizationally; training the working class and all working people in a revolutionary spirit and winning them over; assuring an alliance between the working class and the peasantry, and the vanguard role of the proletariat in the revolution.

The enemies of the proletariat soon realized the tremendous force it had acquired in the Bolshevik Party. It was already in the Russian Revolution of 1905-1907 that the Russian proletariat, led by that party, displayed its full power. For the first time in the history of the international labor movement, it came forward as the main driving force of a bourgeois democratic revolution. And although the revolution of 1905-1907 was defeated, it taught the party, the working class and the peasant masses a great deal. "Without such a 'dress rehearsal' as we had in 1905," Lenin would write later on, "the revolutions of 1917--both the bourgeois, February revolution, and the proletarian, October Revolution--would have been impossible" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 29, p 310).

The party did not fall into despair, nor did it lose its contact with the masses in the years of black reaction that followed the debacle. It used all legal expedients to explain the lessons of that early revolution to the masses and the prospects ahead for the development of the revolutionary struggle. That resulted in a renewed upsurge of the working-class movement, once again under bolshevik slogans, after a stalemate of a few years.

V. I. Lenin and the party invariably waged a firm battle against the overt and covert opponents of revolutionary Marxism. The socialist revolutionaries, mensheviks, anarchists, Trotskyites, nationalist and other petit bourgeois elements denied the leading role of the working class in the revolutionary struggle, would not recognize the dictatorship of the proletariat, and sought to turn the proletariat into an accomplice of the bourgeoisie. The communist party, applying as it did its skillful and flexible tactics to win the masses over to the proletarian vanguard, forged the militant unity of Russia's working class and kept it from any collaboration with the bourgeoisie. It brought the peasant masses over to the proletarian side, and convinced the working people of the oppressed nations that they could win freedom under its leadership.

The bolsheviks with Lenin at their head kept the mensheviks from infecting the working class with the germ of opportunism and pushing it into cooperation with the bourgeoisie as the right-wing leaders of the social democratic parties of the European countries had done. What came to be well established in the working-class movement of Russia as a result of the persistent and purposeful efforts of the bolshevik party and its correct political leadership was the revolutionary trend which was of decisive importance for the victory of the February and October revolutions.

The Leninist party was invariably loyal to Marxism and creatively applied its principles to the particular conditions the proletariat of Russia had to struggle in. It intimately combined the defense of those principles with an effort to enrich theory with further historical experience and to link it tightly with practice.

The overriding target the party aimed to reach through its theoretical work was to ascertain the conditions for the victory of the socialist revolution and to ensure the hegemony of the proletariat in that revolution. It was from that point of view that the issue of its allies--the peasant and national liberation movements--was considered, and the role of different strata of the peasantry and oppressed peoples established. The party followed the rule that theory had to come before revolutionary practice and to light up the right track for the working class to victory.

Lenin's theory of socialist revolution was an example of the creative development of Marxism and that of replacement of outdated propositions with new ones consistent with the emerging historical conditions of the struggle with the proletariat. With Marx's ideas about the continuous development of revolution as his guide, Lenin proved it was possible for a bourgeois democratic revolution to develop into a socialist one. Life has borne out that prediction of Lenin's.

It was important, besides, to ascertain the prospects for the development of the revolutionary process across the world and to find a scientific solution to the question of whether the proletariat of a particular country with a revolutionary situation in it had to make a socialist revolution or it had to wait for the same conditions to arise in other countries so as to act concurrently. The view that dominated unchallenged in the international

working class movement was that the victory could be won only if the proletariat of all or most of the advanced capitalist countries made a socialist revolution at the same time.

Lenin, while considering that Marxist proposition to be right for its time, drew a new conclusion after a thorough study of the epoch of imperialism distinguished by the increasingly uneven development of different countries: the possibility of the victory of a socialist revolution and of socialism first in a few countries or even in a single one. Lenin's inference indicated a clear prospect for the revolutionary movement in Russia and for all the national contingents of the proletariat, and made them quite sure of their eventual victory. That conclusion was abundantly proved by the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia. With Lenin's theory of revolution to go by, the party has successfully applied the scientific propositions regarding the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary struggle and regarding the distinctions between revolution and reform, revolutionary situation, and armed uprising, to mention just a few.

By virtue of the ideological, political and organizational cohesion of the Bolshevik party, based on Lenin's doctrine, its loyalty to the principles of Marxism and creative development of theory, and to the proper political leadership, the Russian proletariat had come to be better prepared in every way than any other national contingent of the international working class for action to overthrow tsarism and capitalism and to win power.

The victory of the socialist revolution in a number of countries of Europe, Asia, and America and the formation of the world socialist system has demonstrated the validity of the revolutionary record of the CPSU in the new historical setting.

II

The Bolshevik Party took over in a country which tsarism and the classes that had been dominant before the revolution had reduced to a state of extreme decline, exposing it to the danger of being carved up by imperialist powers. Having assumed the responsibility for the nation's destiny, the party roused, organized and inspired the working people to a battle to end backwardness and economic dislocation and to build socialism. Following Lenin's wise counsel that "no revolution is worth anything unless it can defend itself" (op. cit., vol 28, p 124), the party rallied the mass of the people for action to beat back the domestic counterrevolution and the foreign armed intervention against the newborn Soviet republic, brought this country to victory in the civil war and the Great Patriotic War, saved it from the danger of enslavement by imperialism, and upheld the independence and sovereignty of the Soviet state.

While consistently working to apply Lenin's general strategy of building socialism in the USSR, the party and the people rid the nation's productive forces from the fetters of private property relations, and created the conditions for the all-round progress of social and economic relations, science and culture. Under the party's leadership, the country developed into a mighty socialist power within the shortest possible historical period.

The conditions in which a revolutionary party could live up to its great mission, Lenin pointed out, "are created only by prolonged effort and hard-won experience". Their creation is facilitated by a correct revolutionary theory, which, in turn, is not a dogma, but assumes final shape only in close connection with the practical activity of a truly mass and truly revolutionary movement" (op. cit., vol 31, p 25).

To implement Lenin's and the party's plans for building socialism implied re-creating the pattern of society in the USSR, that is to say, entering the constructive stage of the revolution.

The record of social and political development has borne out the validity of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the state. The party supplemented it with important provisions and conclusions. A basically novel type of state--a socialist state based on an alliance among the workers, peasants, intellectuals and professional people of all of this country's nations and ethnic groups--has been created. Its backbone is the soviets--the form of power that emerged back in the first Russian revolution of 1905 and was subsequently defined by Lenin as the optimal political institution for Russia, a cross-breed of a public and social organization. What emerged was a hitherto unknown social and political structure giving actual substance to the notions of freedom, human rights, democracy, and social justice. The party has successfully put into effect Lenin's plan for resolving the national relations problem, so crucial for Russia which, under tsarism, had been a "prison for nations," as Lenin put it.

The record of economic development is an example of what can be done to overcome backwardness, industrialize a country, collectivize its agriculture, create productive forces geared to unfailingly enhancing the well-being of the working people and satisfying their immediate material and mental needs. A material and technical base was laid without which it would have been impossible to enhance the nation's defense capability and to hold out in World War II, defeat fascism and save the peoples not only of the Soviet Union but of the other nations of Europe from being subjugated by it.

In the area of spiritual development, an effective way was found for the spiritual enlightenment of the great mass of the working people, and of creating the conditions for the sweeping advance of science, art and literature, and giving scope to the creative powers and native talents of the working people of most diverse ethnic backgrounds to be brought into play. This has produced a new type of Soviet culture, uniform in its socialist content but diversified in its ethnic forms, which has been making an increasing contribution, most valued by the world's peoples, to mankind's common storehouse of cultural values. Marxism-Leninism became the ideology of the Soviet people.

In the area of party building Lenin's principles of organization, leadership and ideological activity of the CPSU were tested and borne out by reality and the broadest possible practical experience. In April 1917, within months of the power takeover by the working class, the party had a membership of only 50,000. In 1939, when the 18th Party Congress declared socialism to have been essentially built in the USSR, its membership was upwards of 1.5 million. At

present, it groups over 18 million communists. Looking back on the 80 years of its history, one cannot overrate the wealth of its revolutionary and constructive experience in resolving a vast array of problems, including those relating to most diverse forms of self-sacrificing and consistent struggle for the unity and ideological integrity of its membership, against revisionists and opportunists of all stripes, for the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory and for its competent application in everyday activities.

The historical experience gained by the CPSU shows that building socialism is a process that involves a pitched class battle. It has made itself felt within the party through antiparty activities of the Trotskyites, right-wing opportunists and nationalistic capitulators. A party can successfully lead the struggle of the working class for power and for building socialism and communism only if its own internal life is well-organized and if all of its organizations and members have a common will and act as a coherent force.

Democratic centralism is the main principle of the party's organizational structure and internal life. Lenin insisted that democratic centralism was required in order that "the organizational role of the proletariat (which is its principal role) may be exercised correctly, successfully and victoriously" (op. cit., vol 31, p 44).

The Leninist principle of collective leadership is one of fundamental importance in party life and activities. A party cannot, Lenin pointed out, do its political work, organize and discipline revolutionary forces "without the collective elaboration of certain forms and rules for the conduct of affairs" (op. cit., vol 3, p 219). While carrying forward and updating the Leninist standards of party life, the CPSU takes care all the time to strengthen the ideological and organizational unity of the membership and to ensure the continuity of leadership and the cooperation between experienced and young cadres.

A party cannot be the true leader of the people unless it consciously expresses the aspirations of the people's masses. A party can fulfill the role of a vanguard when it does not fence itself off from the masses but, on the contrary, works with them day by day, and can convince the masses and even their backward strata of the justice of its policy, and bring them up to the level of advanced champions of the cause of communism. To be a Soviet communist is a great, most committing honor. The CPSU Central Committee resolution on the 80th anniversary of the Second Congress of the RSDWP stated: "Party membership does not entitle anyone to any privileges, but means only the communists' greater responsibility for everything that is taking place in the country and for the destinies of socialist construction and social progress."

Any setback in socialist construction can be made, as our historical experience indicates, only through the creative development of Marxist-Leninist sciences, elaboration of the fundamental problems of theory, an unending battle against creeping pragmatism, time-serving considerations, or scholastic

theorizing divorced from practice. Experience has repeatedly confirmed the rightness of Lenin's thought that "anybody who tackles partial problems without having previously settled general problems, will inevitably and at every step 'come up' against those general problems without himself realizing it. To come up against them blindly in every individual case means to doom one's politics to the worst vacillation and lack of principle" (op. cit., vol 15, p 368).

Leninism teaches that whoever fails to take into account changes in the development of society, supports outdated propositions and inferences and reiterates old formulas in place of a scientific analysis of the new historical conditions distorts the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism and departs from it in actual practice.

The CPSU considers reaching developed socialism at the present stage in Soviet history as the main result of the Soviet people's constructive endeavor. The party considers this period of social development to be distinguished by a number of new essential features which it takes into account in defining its mode of approach and the tasks to tackle in every area of social life. These features are:

—The dynamic social and economic development, guided by a state plan, has served to create an integrated national economic complex assuring the material, cultural and intellectual progress of each republic and region, as well as the optimal exploitation of their resources for the well-balanced development of the nation as a whole.

—A new social structure has been established. It is the base for the development of a classless society and for eliminating the main disparities between town and country and between mental and physical labor.

—The socialist state which has emerged in the USSR as the state of proletarian dictatorship, has developed into a state belonging to the whole people, expressing the interests and will of the entire people, with the working class retaining its leading role as the most advanced and organized social force. The role of the soviets of people's deputies has been enhanced as has the level of socialist democracy and the extent of the working people's participation in the administration of society.

—The formation of socialist nations and constant consolidation of their friendship have produced a new historical entity--the "Soviet people." A multinational socialist culture has flourished as a result of the all-round progress of all nations and ethnic groups and their mutual intellectual enrichment. For the first time in history, the multinational composition of a country has become a source of strength, rather than weakness.

—In the context of developed socialism, the communist party has further increased its role as the leading and guiding force of the society. It has become the party of the whole people. Internal party democracy has expanded, and the communists' activity and creative initiative have increased in dealing with political and economic issues of national life.

At the present juncture, the party finds its major concern to be that of upgrading developed socialism and using more of its advantages and potentialities to the interest and to the benefit of the working people. It is well aware of the magnitude of the problems that have to be resolved, soberly evaluates the nation's opportunities and its productive and scientific potential, and looks ahead with optimism. "Of paramount importance today," Yu. V. Andropov has pointed out, "is the need to consider and consistently carry out measures capable of giving full scope for the action of enormous creative forces inherent in our economy. These measures should be carefully prepared and be realistic. This means that their planning must be undeviatingly based on the laws governing the development of the socialist economic system" (KOMMUNIST No 3, 1983, p 13).

The party has launched a drive to raise the efficiency of the national economy, accelerate the pace of economic growth, augment the absolute growth of the national income and of industrial and agricultural production, higher labour productivity, more extensive and faster application of scientific and technological progress as in production, and improvement of the entire economic management mechanism.

Sincerity, a scientific approach, initiative, exigency and a constructive and critical attitude, that is, the party's qualities which constitute the socialist style and the very soul of all of its activities, are the most important guarantee of success in resolving the problems raised by life. The CPSU is opposed to window-dressing and claptrap, guided by Lenin's principles that "there must be less fine talk, for you cannot satisfy the working people with fine words" (op. cit., vol 31, p 372). Only a party critical of shortcomings and averse to hiding them behind a screen of success can fulfill the role of true leader of the working class and all working people. Lenin said that "the failure and decline of political parties have very often been preceded by a state of affairs in which they could develop a swelled head" (op. cit., vol 30, p 528). He concluded by expressing the assurance that our party would never "contract a swelled head" (ibid). The record of the CPSU offers ample evidence to demonstrate the correctness of that far-sighted thought.

The CPSU is boldly exposing the bottlenecks, difficulties and shortcomings that impede the progress of socialist and communist construction. Therein lies both the political and moral force of the party. The Soviet people are wholeheartedly behind the CPSU in removing everything that is extraneous to the socialist system and that hinders our advance.

A major objective of the party's activities in the context of developed socialism is to keep upgrading the political system, promoting socialist democracy and spiritual culture, the creativity of the masses, and rearing the working people in the spirit of the ideals of the socialist way of life, sound and sensible needs, and a spirit of patriotism and internationalism.

Socialist internationalism is proletarian internationalism in the context of construction of socialism and communism, defining the principles and standards of relations among nations and ethnic groups not only within each of

the socialist countries, but also among themselves, and their all-round cooperation. Covering as it does, in point of fact, all areas of inter-governmental and interparty relations, socialist internationalism embodies respect for the national and historical features of each individual country, and their determination to lend each other unselfish support and to defend the gains of socialism in common. The objects of growing importance in the face of increasingly aggressive imperialism are the all-round development of economic cooperation among the members of the socialist commonwealth, the consolidation of their political unity and of the ideological community among the parties and peoples of the fraternal nations, joint enrichment of Marxist-Leninist theory, and active opposition to the political and ideological sabotage of imperialism.

III

A major issue that is invariably in the focus of the party's entire theoretical and political work is that of war and peace. Elaborating on Marxist teaching, Lenin showed that under capitalism, wars between nations are a direct consequence of the exploitative nature of that type of society and that the tendencies for militarism, aggression and war drastically intensifies in the age of imperialism. From the outset, the bolsheviks have been intransigent opponents of imperialist wars of aggrandizement. Lenin discovered the close tie between the struggle against the exploitative system of society and the battle against the wars it breeds. The slogan "Peace to the Peoples!" on the banner the October Revolution had triumphed behind was inscribed next to the slogan "All Power to the Soviets!"

The workers' and peasants' state acted from its birthday on as a bulwark of peace and its active defender. Lenin's Decree on Peace and his numerous writings about the principles of the policy of peaceful coexistence, its major guidelines and methods have become fundamental to the international activities of the party and the Soviet state.

To keep the peace in an imperialist environment was an incredibly difficult thing. The land of the soviets had to pass through the grave ordeal of the Great Patriotic War. While defending, arms in hand, the homeland's freedom and independence, the Soviet land, the homeland's freedom and independence, the Soviet people fought to make that war the last one. They paved the way to peace at the cost of tremendous sacrifice. The sky over our land has remained tranquil for nearly 40 years. This is a convincing proof of the efficiency of the Leninist foreign policy of the CPSU.

The invariable loyalty of our party and the Soviet state to peace-building Leninist foreign policy was authoritatively reaffirmed at the 26th CPSU Congress and in the statements of Yu. V. Andropov. All of the Soviet Union's international initiatives, it was stated at the congress, "have one common objective, one common ambition behind them--to do everything possible to save the peoples from the threat of nuclear war." The Peace Program for the 1980s, put forward by the congress, has identified this objective as one of supreme importance, internationally, for our party and the people. "The Soviet Union will do everything it can," Yu. V. Andropov emphasized, "to assure the

present and coming generations of a tranquil and peaceful future. This is the aim of our policy, and we shall not depart from it."

A world without wars and without arms is an ideal of the CPSU. This is its landmark into the future and a guideline in its everyday work and hard struggle for dependable provisions to ensure the exercise of every people's and every man's right to live, the struggle against a policy of militarism, nuclear blackmail, military threats and imperialist diktat.

The party proceeds from the assumption that to pursue a policy of peace in actual practice means striving for such solutions to any issues of international politics as would make the threat of nuclear war recede. That is precisely the way the Soviet Union has been acting, having unilaterally pledged itself never to be the first to use nuclear weapons and proposed together with other socialist countries a treaty on reciprocally forswearing the use of military power and maintaining a relation of peace between the members of the two military-political alignments--the Warsaw Pact and NATO--and by having taken a number of other peace initiatives.

The Soviet Union's constructive and realistic peace proposals have struck an answering chord in the hearts and minds of millions of people of different political outlooks, ideological persuasions, and party affiliation. This is natural, for a genuinely peaceful policy is an honest and open policy, addressed not only to the governments but to the peoples as well. In his day, Lenin pointed out: "We must...help the peoples to intervene in questions of war and peace" (op. cit., vol 26, p 252). Today the policy of peace, pursued by our party, is helping the people of goodwill appreciate their own part in the battle to keep the peace and get actively involved in this battle. The antiwar and antinuclear movement has acquired an unprecedented scale and intensity, and has become such a major factor of the social and political life of nations that the political parties and governments no longer can ignore it.

Our party is convinced that the combined actions of all the forces of peace and progress can stop slithering down the road to war, thwart the plans of the militarist quarters of imperialism and put an end to the arms race. A major responsibility now devolving on the international working class as the main social force of our times is the most important factor in shaping the position and determining the activity of its political vanguard--the communist and worker parties.

The CPSU has earned enormous prestige among the peoples because, guided by the principle of proletarian internationalism, it has invariably maintained an attitude of solidarity with the struggle of the working class and all working people for their interests, for social progress, democracy and socialism. It has been and still is active in backing up the liberation struggles of all the oppressed.

As part of the contingents of the world's labor army, the Leninist communists have likewise played an active part in the battle for scientific socialism in the labor movement. That is precisely why the seeds sown by the Second RSDWP

Congresses have so abundantly germinated in the international soil. The performance of the bolshevik party with Lenin at its head proved to be the most important ideological and political factor behind the development of the world communist movement. As a result of such activities the peoples obtained an actually existing powerful state, a bulwark of peace and socialism, and the science whereby to abolish the system of oppression and exploitation and to build socialism. Communism has firmly established itself in the labor movement, and has become the most revolutionizing force in the development of humanity and the ideology of a new type of society within which hundreds of millions of people live.

History has conclusively proved the need for the working class to have a revolutionary party of the Leninist type. The absence of such a party would doom the revolutionary movement of the working class to defeat even under favorable objective circumstances.

At the present time the role of the working class party and its Marxist-Leninist ideological complexion have become particularly urgent questions because some elements in the communist movement are exhibiting views that are, in point of fact, opposed to the Leninist science of the party and the practice of party building based on it.

Of course, the conditions in which the communist parties in the capitalist countries have to operate today are far different from those in which the bolshevik party had to function before the revolution. Modern times have wrought profound change in every area of social life and awareness. This, naturally, requires of the communists the creative application of the Leninist sciences of the party. The communist parties are expected to produce the answers to questions raised by reality. Naturally, they do take into account the circumstances of their respective countries, the balance of social and political forces, the state of their respective economies, the international environment, etc. The historically tested Marxist-Leninist methodology provides dependable ground from which to look for new forms of ideological, political and organizational work in the right direction.

Unfortunately, some quarters have sometimes been producing certain concepts which eliminate the distinction between revolutionaries and reformists and are aimed at a rapprochement with other political parties of all kinds which restrict the autonomy of the communist parties and weakens the communists' international links.

The partisans of so-called pluralism have been spreading the myth that communist parties are something like "monolithic" units within which there can be no free discussion of any issues of ideology, strategy or tactics. Such a presentation of communist parties is a caricature of the true situation. The fact is that open discussions and debates go on within the communist parties alien to the practice of imposing decisions from above administratively. The policy of each communist party is hammered out democratically, with all party members free to put forward their own suggestions at party meetings, conferences or congresses at which all issues are discussed freely and specifically.

It is true that the concepts of "renovation" of communist parties are very vague. They suffer from a total lack of clarity as to the substance of the matter or the particulars of the new "models" proposed. Such concepts tend to erode the foundations for a genuine consolidation of revolutionary parties. They can only pour grist in the mill of the opponents of communism.

Marksist-leninists in the communist movement are rightfully championing the basic distinguishing features of the communist party--its revolutionary commitment, and its ability to defend the interests of the working class and all working people selflessly at every stage of social development, particularly in its most grave periods, and to fight for the victory of the socialist revolution and the building of a socialist society.

"Keep the communist party," Lenin wrote, "if it is really the vanguard of the revolutionary class, if it really comprises the finest representatives of that class, if it consists of fully conscious and staunch communists, who have been educated and steeled by the experience of a persistent revolutionary struggle, and if it has succeeded in linking itself inseparably with the entire life of its class and, through it, with the entire mass of the exploited, and has instilled a complete faith in this class and this mass--only such a party is capable of leading the proletariat.... On the other hand, it is only under the leadership of such a party that the proletariat is capable of displaying the full might of its revolutionary onslaught..." (op. cit., vol. II, pp. 134-135). This conclusion of the founder of the communist movement is as relevant today as it was decades ago.

To sum up the foregoing, expressed most concisely, the experience of the CPSU may be described as follows:

—The party's entire activity must always rest on the scientific foundation of Marxism-Leninism if much remains true to this great teaching, protect its purity from opportunist distortions, be able to apply it to the particular historical circumstances creatively, to develop and to enrich it with the experience of the mass movement of one's own country and other countries, make a sober assessment of the achievements, shortcomings and errors of each stage of development, and act boldly to rectify them. A party's withdrawal from Marxism-Leninism may well lead it to the loss of its revolutionary communist identity.

—A working class party must preserve its class nature always as well as its intolerance of the class adversary and of any form of exploitation and oppression. It must remain always the staunch vanguard of the proletariat and all working people, capable of doing its utmost to carry through a socialist revolution and to build socialism and communism; a party earns its role as leader of the people and consolidates it through its self-sacrificing struggle for the fundamental interests of the working people in every stage of the revolutionary movement and the building of communism.

—The energy of the Vanguard of the working class, conscious of its objectives, must be combined with the spontaneous urge of the broadest people's masses to free themselves from exploitation; it must learn the art of class

and political alliances while preserving its total independence in order to be able to lead the masses and to be taught by the masses at all times;

—the unity and cohesion within party ranks must be steadily strengthened. The party must be protected from alien elements. It must be built as a united organization of workers of all the ethnic groups in a country, and tempered in the struggle against great-power chauvinism and bourgeois nationalism. The party's united will, based on conscious discipline, must be combined with extensive intraparty democracy and freedom of opinion and debate;

—loyalty to proletarian internationalism must be maintained and the ideological unity and internationalist cohesion of the communist movement and the alliance of anti-imperialist forces must be comprehensively strengthened.

These are the most important conditions which have enabled our party and the fraternal parties in other socialist countries to achieve their history-making victories. The historic record of the CPSU is one of victorious fighting and building, the record of a trail-breaking party called upon by history to resolve previously unresolved problems strictly through its own experience. Throughout its existence, from its beginning to this day, when the party is at the helm of a mighty socialist nation, it has focused all of its thoughts and efforts on defending the interests of the working class and securing a better future for working men. It has thereby earned the utmost respect and unlimited trust of the people. Nobody can belittle that truth any more than one can shut out the sun with the palm of one's hand, for this is the truth of history, the truth of life itself, daily asserted and re-asserted by the struggle of the CPSU for the happiness of the people, for peace, and for the bright ideals of socialism and communism.

At each stage in history, whenever new problems arose, the party has paid particular attention to its ideological and theoretical arsenal, replenishing it with new conclusions, ways and means. Today, too, when the efforts of the party and the people are concentrated on the planned comprehensive advancement of developed socialism, and when it is faced by a very difficult international situation, it has once again turned to matters of theory and ideology.

The proceedings and decisions of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum were a clear manifestation of the Leninist party's forward-looking philosophy. The plenum triggered an enormous charge of energy, constructive commitment and principle-mindedness in leading the land of the soviets to new heights. "We have now reached such a historical point in our social development," Yu. V. Andropov emphasized at the plenum, "when far-reaching qualitative change in productive forces and an upgrading of matching production relations are not only overdue but inevitable." The plenum, acknowledging achievements, called for clear prospects to be outlined in the economy, politics, and ideology for the all-round advancement of the society of developed socialism. "The implementation of this party line....," the plenum resolution reads, "will mean making a further great stride forward in building a communist society and still more convincingly demonstrating the advantages of the socialist system, and increasing its power of attraction."

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ROLE OF AGRICULTURAL SCIENCE IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FOOD PROGRAM

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[Article by VASKHNIL Academician V. Vavilov]

[Text] The Food Program, which was approved at the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, and the decrees passed in connection with it are a new contribution to the development of our party's agrarian policy. These programmatic documents define the ways of development of socialist agriculture and the agroindustrial complex for the 1980s. They are also a guideline for our entire science.

The Food Program is a party, state and planning document of an essentially new nature. It is an example of the fruitful participation of Soviet scientists, guided by the party, in the formulation of long-term target programs which face domestic science with new tasks.

In this connection, particular attention should be paid above all to the systematic intensification, increased efficiency and optimal utilization of available resources. Intensification is the main line in agricultural development. Its implementation presumes qualitative changes in production means and methods. In the final account, this means enhancing the level of utilization of science in production work. Production intensiveness will be increasingly affected by the extent to which it uses the results of scientific research.

In the words of K. Marx, under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution, the production process, including agriculture, becomes a material, positive, tangible science (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol. 46, part II, p 221). Now and in the future agricultural intensiveness will be determined increasingly by its science-intensiveness and the role of direct production force which science will play in this public production sector.

In terms of its spirit and nature the Food Program is a document which directs us above all toward a comprehensive approach to the solution of problems and achieving the best possible end results. This principle, embedded in the program, makes it incumbent upon us to take a new look at the planning and organization of scientific research. Thus, the development of a single branch of knowledge in agriculture, separate from the other sectors of the agroindustrial complex, may fail to yield the desired results. Frequently

the underdeveloped nature along the entire scientific and production chain involving any specific commodity results in substantial shortfalls in terms of the end product. Here is one example: despite the increased production of sugar beets in the recent five-year plans, there has been no increase in the volume of sugar output. This is essentially explained by the excessively long time of processing the sugar beets at the refineries, which leads to higher losses and reduced sugar content in the beets. The quality of the beets is adversely affected by the unbalanced application of chemical fertilizers, phosphorus in particular. Other reasons exist as well. This problem can be resolved only by lifting department barriers in the various production sectors, which was stressed in the materials of the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. This requirement equally applies to scientific research. The task of science is to reorganize its work in such a way as to meet the requirements not of an individual phase in food production but the entire agroindustrial complex in the country.

It is a question of developing a single integral set of scientific research which will ensure the implementation of the Food Program. It seems to us that one should seriously improve the planning and coordination of research alongside the formulation of comprehensive interdepartmental target programs oriented toward end results.

Work is already under way in this direction. Thus, the VASKHNIL presidium set up a Food Program council. Its purpose is to sum up and coordinate studies related to scientific developments aimed at its implementation.

The solution of the food problem requires the efforts of scientists in many areas. The range of studies should not be restricted to biology, agriculture and the technical sciences. This is largely a socioeconomic problem as well.

In this connection the agrarian economists face very topical problems which could be formulated as follows:

For the agroindustrial complex: development of suggestions on improving its structure, and eliminating bottlenecks in terms of individual product enterprises and the entire complex. Substantiation of the necessary measures for the development of equal economic and legal relations among individual agroindustrial complex sectors, which will ensure the coordinated and dynamic development of the entire production area and a conversion to program-target planning methods.

The program for the further development and upgrading of the efficiency of agriculture in the RSFSR Nonchernozem Zone is among the most important comprehensive regional programs currently developed and implemented. This program calls for increasing the role of intensive factors in upgrading social production efficiency, ensuring stable rates of economic development and increasing the production of finished goods. Particular attention is ascribed to the social development of the countryside.

Organizations involved in resolving the problems of the Nonchernozem include not only the VASKHNIL department on the RSFSR Nonchernozem Zone but the All-Russian, Southern and other regional academic departments.

On the level of the agricultural sector: formulation of recommendations aimed at optimizing intrasectorial ratios, the balanced development of crop growing and animal husbandry, and the substantiation of means for the best possible utilization of productive and working capital and land, water, power and labor resources and the development and efficient combination of the various forms of socialist ownership in the countryside.

On the regional level: balancing plans for the development of agriculture and animal husbandry within unified regional farming systems in accordance with the requirements of comprehensive use and the achievements of scientific and technical progress.

On the enterprise level: defining the most efficient forms of labor organization and wages which maximally stimulate the labor activeness and socialist enterprise of collectives, their subunits and individual workers. Particular attention should be paid to the further study and utilization of the collective system.

In agrarian-economic research active use should be made of the systems analysis, modeling and the gamut of economic-mathematical method. This would enable us to upgrade the substantiation and persuasiveness of the results of scientific development, obtain multivariant solutions and cover on the model level the variety of social, economic and production interrelationships.

The Food Program faced the social sciences with a number of important problems, related above all to the social development of the countryside. We must gain a clear idea of the role of the person in agricultural production both as a worker and as a member of the socialist collective, with his growing requirements and complex interrelationships resulting from the profound qualitative changes which are currently taking place in the countryside. The studies should cover problems such as the rural way of life, the system of settlements, the psychology and sociology of agricultural labor collectives and attitude toward labor and rural demography, including manpower migration and reproduction.

The management sector in agroindustrial sciences should be developed further as well. It is a question of intensifying the study of management problems of an intersectorial nature and of the agroindustrial complex on different levels. The study of such complex problems should take place on the basis of models with the development of various alternatives and the conduct of broad-scale economic experiments.

Starting with the basic stipulation of the Food Program on converting to intensive development, the main task of agriculture is to increase the production of finished goods per hectare, head of cattle and ton of raw materials.

In turn, this will demand of science extensive research on the preservation of products at all stages in their dynamics--from fields and farms to the consumer. This offers extensive possibilities of increasing the production of foodstuffs.

We must be realistic and understand that increases in funds allocated for agriculture and the agroindustrial complexes cannot be endless. That is why we must make a profound study of the means for rationalizing and optimizing production systems in our agriculture. Agricultural production is a rather complex integral and, above all, biological system for energy reproduction. Science must find means for upgrading the efficiency of this system. So far, its development took place through the accelerated utilization of substantial volumes of equipment, fertilizers and fuel, which was justified for a certain period.

The need for the further industrialization of our agriculture is obvious. However, we must clearly realize that the purely mechanical increase in the power and utilization of materials of industrial origin can ensure increased output only partially. We must resolve the problem of upgrading the efficiency with which these facilities are applied, bearing in mind possible complexities and limitations related to the inclusion of new resources in the production process.

The studies made by Soviet economists indicate that the increased efficiency in the use of power, equipment and other productive capital can be increased until a specific required level of saturation has been reached. The increased use of energy and equipment must be combined with quality changes in production methods and the use of energy- and resource-conservation technologies. A major shift must take place toward upgrading the energy and biological efficiency of the entire agricultural production system.

The maximal utilization of the biological potential of the land, the plants, the animals and other natural resources is the basic means to resolve this problem.

The most topical problems in crop growing are upgrading the coefficient of the utilization of solar energy and the biological potential of plants. The basic method here is to study the possibilities of increasing output per unit of land.

The accelerated and steady increase in grain production is a key problem in agricultural production. A production of 238-243 million tons is planned for the 11th and 250-255 million tons is planned for the 12th five-year plans. We must reach a stable increase in gross harvests of high-quality hard and strong wheat strains, rye, oats, buckwheat and feed grain crops.

The main way to resolve this problem is to upgrade yields. This calls for intensified plant selection work. The VASKHNIL scientists are engaged in extensive work in this direction. Highly productive short-stemmed wheat strains, short-stemmed and polyploid winter rye strains, intensive barley strains, non-grain casting pea strains, drought-resistant cotton strains and high-grade potato, vegetable and other crop strains have been introduced in recent years. Between 1976 and 1980 alone 723 new strains were zoned, including 578 strains of field crops, or nearly 30 percent more than during the 9th Five-Year Plan. The new winter wheat strains have a potential productivity of 70-80 quintals per hectare and yield 40 to 50 quintals per hectare under industrial farming conditions.

Essential changes have taken place in the strain zoning of winter rye--a Russian tradition. The new low-stemmed, non-lodging strains (Chulpan, Vostok 2 and others) are capable of yielding 35-45 quintals per hectare.

A number of high-yielding and non-lodging spring wheat strains have been developed for use in Siberia and Northern Kazakhstan. The newly introduced barley strains (Druzhba, Kharkovskiy 67, Donetskii 6 and Donetskii 8) are of the intensive variety and along with their high-yield potential have an increased resistance to lodging and even plant stand. Industrially grown, new hybrid strains such as Zherebkovskiy 86 MV and Zherebkovskiy 90 MV yield a minimum of 4 to 8 quintals per grain more than others.

The development of pea strains with non-casting properties--Neosypayushchiysya I and Voroshilovgradskiy Yubileynyy--is a major accomplishment in selection in the field of grain leguminous crops. They are not only high-yielding but suitable for the use of industrial growing and harvesting technology and yield substantially higher amounts of feed protein for animal husbandry.

The further development of selection and its results largely depend on strengthening the material and technical base of selection centers, the construction of which, unfortunately, is slow. Our scientific institutions are extremely short of small implements, the industrial production of which is practically nonexistent.

Major production possibilities may be found in improving the use of already developed strains. A tremendous gap exists in our country between potential and actual strain yields. At best strain yields do not exceed 40 to 50 percent of potential. This is due to a variety of reasons the most important of which is the insufficient use of fertilizers. The new intensive strains demand high-level medium soil fertility, without which they cannot reach the required productivity. Therefore, the use of new strains must be paralleled by increased amounts of fertilizer strictly based on the requirements of strain agrotechnology.

The selection and utilization of early-ripening and medium-ripening varieties and hybrids of corn and sunflower, drought-resistant pea strains, early-ripening strains of lupine grass, high-quality and highly productive strains and hybrids of perennial and seasonal grasses, rape and other farm crops are of great importance. The selection workers must develop the types of strains and hybrids which would be fully consistent with the requirements of industrial technology.

Particular attention should be paid to the quality of the grain. We need strong wheat strains with a high gluten content in order to meet the requirements of the bread-baking industry. We still have few high-yielding hard wheat strains for the production of spaghetti. A great deal remains to be done to improve the quality of the rice and other cereal crops. Increasing the protein content in leguminous crops and improving its amino acid structure are other urgent problems.

Bearing in mind the increased intensification of farming and crop growing, we are planning to energize research on plant protection. We are assigning to the scientists the task of developing more efficient chemical, biological and agrotechnical methods for fighting pests, diseases and weeds and to create integrated plant protection systems. Ensuring agricultural production stability demands the increased resistance of the new strains to diseases and pests and to adverse stress conditions, drought in particular. The solution of these problems will require the major efforts of geneticists and selectioners. Practical experience indicates that the best results in the development of valuable plant forms are achieved where new methods and accomplishments in related fields of knowledge are used extensively and skillfully.

Under contemporary conditions the role of the initial stock increases in the development of new strains. For example, it was precisely the initial stock included in the collection of the All-Union Scientific Research Plant-Growing Institute imeni N. I. Vavilov which laid the beginning of new trends in domestic selection as short-stemmed wheat and rye and resistance to husking in peas. Every year the institute delivers to the selection workers new plants used for the development of highly productive immune strains of grain, feed and vegetable crops, leaf-cast cotton strains, and so on.

It is very important for selection studies to be completed with the organization of a modern, intensive and specialized seed production, for it is precisely this that frequently becomes the key to higher yields.

Genetics resolves the major fundamental problems in agricultural science. Gene engineering methods open essentially new paths to the creation of economically valuable crop strains and animal breeds. The real possibilities for the efficient use of gene engineering in the struggle against various plant pests, the creation of new, highly efficient vaccines, and so on, are already apparent.

In order to ensure the high scientific level of the work, it is particularly important for studies on the utilization of the possibilities of gene engineering to be conducted by VASKHNIL scientists in close contact with the scientific collectives of the USSR Academy of Sciences. It is hoped that thanks to the joint efforts an increasing number of basic studies in the field of molecular genetics will involve agricultural projects.

Scientists have made a substantial contribution to resolving farming problems. In particular, progressive soil cultivation, fertilizing and crop rotation systems have been submitted, ensuring the increased fertility of the soils, their protection from water and wind erosion and increased yields. A soil protection farming system based on the shallow cultivation of soil and other agrotechnical systems has been developed. Its application has made it possible to prevent wind erosion on an area of more than 40 million hectares and to ensure an average increase in grain yields of up to 2 quintals per hectare. Recommendations on the efficient utilization of fertilizers have been drafted for 22 zones in the country and suggestions on their efficient use in irrigated areas have been formulated.

Work has been completed on the development of zonal farming systems, based on the latest scientific and practical achievements. They are already being actively applied in a number of areas in the country. Let us note in this connection the fruitful joint work done by scientists and specialists in the Stavropol area, in Omsk Oblast and several Belorussian oblasts.

However, the application of the achievements of agricultural science frequently drags for many years. A lack of initiative is being displayed in such matters both by scientists and agricultural specialists. Particularly high is the level of inertia shown by the industrial ministries which produce machines, equipment, fertilizers and pesticides for agriculture. The implementation of the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum decisions calls for decisively eliminating departmental lack of coordination and considerably accelerating the practical application of scientific achievements.

Scientific research in agriculture will be concentrated above all on the search for effective means for the preservation of soil fertility, protection from water and wind erosion and degradation, and increasing the efficiency of chemical fertilizers. It is entirely clear that the time has come to turn to organic farming and setting the objective of restoring and, subsequently, upgrading potential and actual soil fertility. This is the only way to achieve the desired effectiveness of chemical fertilizers. Furthermore, chemical means alone, without the extensive and efficient use of organic fertilizers, would obviously be insufficient in reaching the planned volume of output.

One of the lines of research is the search for means to upgrade the nitrogen fixation of plants as an important source for improving the energy efficiency in agriculture. The problem is to develop new strains of leguminous crops with increased nitrogen fixation capability, the creation of agrocenoses with an increased share of leguminous crops in them and the development of other agricultural methods which will increase the nitrogen fixation of leguminous crops.

The symbiotic activities of leguminous crops must be stimulated and the content of tubercular bacteria in their protein must be increased. For example, in the new soybean-growing areas (the southern European part of the USSR), this method, known as nitrogenation, adds an average of 5 quintals per hectare to grain crops. Taking this into consideration, the Scientific Research Agricultural Microbiology Institute developed a new efficient preparation for tubercular bacteria--rizotorphin. Unfortunately, its production and utilization are extremely slow. No more than 1.5 million hectare-rations were manufactured in 1982 although 5 million were needed. The Main Microbiological Industry Administration should energize this work.

We are forced to pay particular attention to the problem of the biological fixation of atmospheric nitrogen for a variety of economic and ecological reasons. First among them is the increased shortage of energy, a tremendous amount of which goes into the production of chemical nitrogen fertilizers. The other reason is the progressive pollution of the environment as a result of the use of high amounts of mineral fertilizers, nitrogen above all.

in recent years the problem of the second important element in plant mineral nutrition--phosphorus--is becoming increasingly urgent in crop growing. The natural reserves of this most important element are quite limited and the biogeochemical circulation of the element as a whole is adverse. Lacking gaseous forms, phosphorus is irreversibly washed into the world's oceans. All this intensifies its fast and firm fixation in the soil. The latest trend in the solution of the "phosphorus problem" is the study of the abilities of soil microorganisms, endomycorrhiza in particular, to increase the supply of phosphorus in the plants. Extensive work is being done abroad and in our country by the All-Union Scientific Research Agricultural Microbiology Institute. Local, highly active strains of endomycorrhiza have been developed through experimentation.

No less topical is the problem of upgrading fertilizer efficiency through the use of microelements. Their absence in the soils in many areas adversely affects the result of the application of nitrogen, phosphorus and potassium fertilizers. However, the chemical industry produces them in small quantities, in experimental batches.

Let us particularly emphasize the question of optimizing the amounts of use of fertilizer and their structure on the zonal level.

The comprehensive chemization of our agriculture is being seriously held back by a shortage of pesticides, herbicides in particular. The extensive utilization of industrial crop-growing technology is impossible without the development of a scientific "base" and the fastest possible practical utilization of high-quality, domestically produced pesticides.

The question of crop resistance is most urgent under the conditions of our continental climate. It must be resolved comprehensively. The application of zonal farming systems containing specific recommendations related to local conditions is a factor in upgrading yields. Thus, such systems should include crop rotations with the use of fallow land in the droughty areas and the entire set of agricultural methods for soil cultivation, chemization, reclamation and selection. Similar recommendations should be formulated regarding machine systems and their working parts for each separate zone.

Agricultural stability is largely determined by the utilization of reclaimed lands. Scientific research must be aimed at resolving problems of their efficient utilization, comprehensive reclamation, including the economic development of such lands, and their use in growing the most valuable and highly productive crops. Furthermore, the proper organization of the implementation of reclamation projects in the various areas, above all in zones with a relatively high bioclimatic potential, is no less important. This should ensure the rational utilization of available resources.

Man's current activities have led to changes in the structure of the earth's components. This has affected agricultural production conditions. Scientific research and progressive production experience indicate that success in farming today can be ensured only through the ecological optimizing of arable land. Ecological farming models for farming the steppe areas in the country

include, for example, the fields of the Scientific Research Agricultural Institute of the Central Chernozem Belt imeni V. V. Dokuchayev (Voronezh Oblast), the Gigant Sovkhoz (Rostov Oblast), Deminskiy Kolkhoz (Volgograd Oblast), Tikhoretskiy Sovkhoz (Krasnodar Kray), and the Sovkhoz imeni F. M. Grin'ko (Altay Kray). Here farming has always been rewarded by generous crops regardless of weather conditions.

The cultivation of badly eroded land and upgrading the productivity of arid pastures are unused reserves for the successful implementation of the Food Program.

The science of zootechnology faces complex problems. It should be such as to ensure the implementation of comprehensive scientific and technical programs for milk, meat and other animal husbandry products and for upgrading the productivity of the tremendous cattle herd existing in our country.

Supplying the cattle with rich and varied feeds is the main base for the successful development of animal husbandry. Taking this into consideration, the scientific institutions are concentrating their attention on resolving the feed problem. It is necessary above all to use the available farmland in the country and to upgrade the productivity of its largest share--natural meadows and pastures, which cover 320 million hectares. This calls for the utilization of already developed scientific technologies for the superficial and profound improvement of meadows and pastures, which will enable us to obtain 4,000-5,000 fodder units per hectare and, with irrigation, from 12,000 to 15,000, i.e., several hundred percent more than at present. Naturally, this problem cannot be resolved without corresponding capital investments.

Extensive possibilities exist in cultivated feed production. Feed production could be increased substantially by improving the structure of crops, increasing the areas in high-yielding and high-protein crops, improving their distribution among the various parts of the country and observing cultivation technology.

Preventing feed losses in harvesting and storage is an important task. Currently more than 30 percent of the nutritive substances are lost in procurements and storage. Losses in carotene reach 70 percent or higher. The main method for the prevention of such losses is the development and utilization of machine systems for feed production, particularly in the area of the procurement and storage of coarse and fresh fodder. No drastic improvement in the nutritional value of the procured feeds and their supply to animal husbandry is possible without this. Currently this is one of the worst bottlenecks in our feed production system.

The scientific institutions have already developed a number of efficient feed preservatives. However, their production by the chemical industry is being developed poorly. Studies in the field of conservation agents are being conducted in cooperation with scientists from the USSR Academy of Sciences and other departments. Real possibilities exist for the development of new and more efficient and inexpensive preservatives harmless to animals. The main difficulty is to organize their extensive production such as to meet agricultural requirements in full.

The problem of supplying protein feeds to the cattle remains most acute. Its solution will be achieved through the intensification and expansion of our studies in the field of traditional crops, such as alfalfa, clover, esparto grass, leguminous and oleaginous plants and the synthesis of microbiological protein.

Scientific work aimed at upgrading the percentage of digestibility of feeds is a promising direction. The point is that currently the coefficient of conversion of the nutritive substances in the feeds into animal husbandry products remains low.

Traditionally, great attention has been paid in animal husbandry to selection and improved breeding. During the 10th Five-Year Plan, together with practical animal husbandrymen, Soviet scientists developed a considerable number of highly productive animals of original genotypes, adapted to industrial technologies, and officially acknowledged as selection accomplishments. Thus, 38 new industrial lines of dairy cattle and two types and 14 lines of beef cattle have been developed, together with two new strains and four new types of hogs, five new strains, two breeds and 12 new types of meat-wool and karakul sheep, one breed of horse and three new breeds and about 20 lines and crossbreeds of poultry. All of them are distinguished by their high productivity and good adaptability to intensive use under industrial conditions with a high concentration of herds at modern, large farms and animal husbandry complexes.

For example, a new industrial type of domestic black-spotted cow has been developed at the Lesnoye and Petrovskiy breeding plants in Leningrad Oblast. Its productivity during its lactation period averages 5,200-6,300 kilograms of milk with a 3.78-4.03 percent fat content. The Chernigov and Pridnepr new beef cattle are adapted to year-round, non-grazing feeding in the forest-steppe areas of the Ukraine and retain a high-speed growth until they reach the age of 2-2.5 years.

New breeds of hogs (Don, Moscow, Kemerovo and others) yield an average daily weight increase of 700-800 grams on the basis of 3.8-4.2 feed units per kilogram.

The sheep of a new one-of-a-kind Degeresskaya meat and wool breed have a homogeneous semifine wool and reach a live weight of 65-80 kilograms. These animals can suitably withstand the conditions of the semi-desert and desert Kazakhstan zone.

The Broiler-6 poultry meat breeds reach a weight of 1.6-1.7 kilograms at the age of 49 days, raised on large poultry farms. The annual laying capacity of the Belarus-9 crossbreed averages 260-275 eggs. These hens are characterized by their high survivability.

In recent years, thanks to the achievements of veterinary science, the percentage of morbidity among all types of livestock, caused by infectious diseases and helminthoses, has declined significantly. A substantial contribution to this result was made by the scientists from the All-Union

Scientific Research Institute of Experimental Veterinary Medicine (VIEV) and the institutes the works of which it coordinates. During the 10th Five-Year Plan VIEV personnel alone developed and applied seven vaccines, nine diagnostic methods and 10 medical preparations. All in all, they are the authors of 96 developments comprehensively used by the livestock breeding farms in the country.

The application of vaccines against cattle, horse, game and rabbit ringworm is a most valuable contribution. The scientists have developed a large variety of means for the prevention and struggle against viral, gastrointestinal and respiratory diseases.

The personnel of the All-Union Scientific Research Helminthological Institute imeni K. I. Skryabin developed a system of biologically based measures for the prevention of and struggle against helminthoses. According to USSR Ministry of Agriculture data, its extensive application on a national scale saves 900 million rubles.

However, veterinary medicine also faces urgent problems demanding an immediate solution. The further intensification and expansion of research aimed at the elimination of brucellosis, tuberculosis, leukosis and other dangerous diseases is necessary. The search for new, biologically active substances and pharmacological preparations and more efficient methods for their application should be accelerated. All of these problems become particularly important in connection with the reorganization of animal husbandry on an industrial basis.

We must substantially upgrade the methodical level of selection-breeding work in animal husbandry. This will require an increased volume of work on large-scale selection based on the creation of genetic information banks involving computer use.

The further development of industrial production technologies for the basic types of animal husbandry products remains a most important problem. This is not only a major scientific task but one of the basic directions in the development of the sectorial economy, which ensures a drastic reduction in labor outlays, its increased facility and the creation of conditions favoring the development of the livestock.

The Food Program set agriculture the task of increasing meat production as a primary problem. The scientists must not only develop specific methods and lines for increasing meat production and improving its structure but also find the most efficient means for the specialization of the individual animal husbandry sectors.

The May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum noted the need for further technical increases of facilities in all agricultural production sectors. The all-round development of scientific research in the areas of mechanization, electrification and automation of agricultural production is one of the primary tasks of scientists in the engineering and technical areas. We already have examples of successful developments and good results in their

application, which lead to higher labor productivity and improve the quality of operations and other indicators.

This includes the application of the RKS-6 root-digging machine in the main beet-growing areas, which ensures the separation of the root of the sugar beet, combined with the BM-6 plant-tops cutter, which doubles or triples labor productivity in such work compared with triple-row harvesting machines.

Many other examples may be cited, however, in which the application of a developed technical facility is being stubbornly hindered. Frequently, the industrial ministries find it unprofitable to organize the production of new equipment for the countryside from the viewpoint of departmental interests. For example, obsolete T-40, T-74 and DT-75 tractors and their modified models continue to be produced, while the series production of new power-saturated caterpillar tractors of the T-150 and DT-75S types, which have long undergone government tests, has not been organized.

The production of caterpillar tractors is extremely inadequate, although the percentage of fuel used per unit of traction in these models is 8-15 percent lower compared with wheel-driven tractors, not to mention the fact that they are better from the agrotechnical viewpoint.

Here is another example: the All-Union Scientific Research Agricultural Electrification Institute developed and recommended for production an automatic machine for the collection and packaging of eggs, which doubles labor productivity and reduces egg breakage by a factor of 2.5. It was included in a machine system but to this day is not produced by industry. For a number of years its production has been deleted from the equipment production plan of the Ministry of Machine Building for Animal Husbandry and Fodder Production.

Agricultural production industrialization is the main direction to be followed in the development of animal husbandry and crop growing. In this case the agricultural and engineering sciences and the sectorial ministry enterprises engaged in the production of machines and equipment for the countryside must jointly resolve a number of basic problems.

To begin with, the quality and reliability of the delivered equipment must be upgraded drastically. It is no secret that many tractor and agricultural machine models, combines in particular, are behind the best foreign models both in terms of design and manufacturing. The sectors which supply agriculture with labor tools must above all upgrade the quality of the equipment.

Secondly, the delivered equipment must be comprehensive. Machine systems based on industrial technology must be produced. The unbalanced deliveries of equipment seriously worsen its productivity. For example, both science and practical experience have confirmed that the optimal ratio is the following: 3.5 rubles' worth of operating machinery per ruble of tractor; in fact, the delivered machinery is worth under 2 rubles.

Thirdly, the efficiency in the utilization of available equipment in agriculture must be enhanced significantly. These tasks are not merely engineering

and technical but socioeconomic as well. This means that we must develop mechanisms which would guarantee the interest of the plants, all technical services and mechanizers in the end results of the utilization of such equipment. Suitable social conditions must be developed to keep mechanizer cadres and measures must be drafted to encourage the protection and efficient utilization of the equipment. Together with the respective ministries, VASKHNIL must also formulate a research program for the creation and production of small equipment for the auxiliary and private plots which are making a substantial contribution to the overall production of agricultural commodities.

The technical policy in the area of the most important problems of agricultural mechanization, electrification and automation in the country must be formulated by the scientific institutes within the systems of VASKHNIL, the ministries of tractor and agricultural machine building and machine building for animal husbandry and fodder production and the USSR Goskomsel'khoshtekhnika. Unfortunately, so far these scientific institutions are far from fully coping with their assignments. Many mechanization problems are related to problems of basic sciences dealt with by the USSR Academy of Sciences Institutes. Joint efforts are required to upgrade the quality and reliability of the equipment and the use of nonconventional sources of energy in agricultural production.

The scale of the tasks facing agricultural science demands the better training and improved skills of scientific cadres, particularly those whose skills are already high. The question of the reproduction of a scientific replacement is a matter of serious concern. We believe that more favorable conditions must be created for attracting talented young people to scientific work.

Let us note that the scientific institutions offer great opportunities for enhancing research efficiency. We must improve the structure of a number of institutes and combine small and uncoordinated subunits within scientific collectives which could resolve major national economic problems. A great deal must also be done to enhance the individual responsibility of the scientists for the results of their activities, discipline and organization in the work, in order to avoid operating barren laboratories or working on sterile topics and so that the output of all of our scientific units be useful to agricultural production. In speaking of the role and tasks of science in the implementation of the Food Program setting guidelines for its further development is insufficient. It is no less important to improve the means and methods for ensuring the practical utilization of the results of scientific research.

Basic research, concentrated above all within the scientific institutions of the USSR Academy of Sciences and, partially, agriculture and VASKHNIL, is the initial stage in scientific and technical progress. The Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni V. I. Lenin and the central institutes of some sectorial ministries are engaged essentially in scientific developments of a sectorial and applied nature. Sectorial, regional and zonal institutes of all departments must keep track of scientific problems of applied significance. Furthermore, organizations dealing with purely applied matters must be set up.

We have acquired considerable experience in this respect. In particular, a number of scientific-production associations, which have proved their usefulness, have been established. Application work must be carried out not only by the agricultural and local agroindustrial organs but by agricultural scientific institutions, which must drastically energize their participation and, in a number of cases, take the initiative in application.

We must take all the necessary steps to implement Comrade Yu. V. Andropov's instructions to the effect that agriculture must march in step with scientific and technical progress. Valuable scientific and technical developments must be applied in production more extensively. We must use everything new and progressive more daringly, energetically and extensively.

The solution of the problems facing science, related to the implementation of the Food Program, is a matter of all scientific research collectives. Each scientific collective and associate must become profoundly imbued with the ideas of this program and restructure and direct its work in accordance with its requirements.

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WORK: THE MAIN SCULPTOR OF THE PERSONALITY

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[Article by KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA, KOMMUNIST collective correspondent]

[Text] There is a plant in Moscow run by school students.

It is well-known not only in our country but far beyond it.

Let us look at it. Let us enter its shops together with the noisy stream of school students.

Every day nearly 800 boys and girls go to their workplaces here. The entire process of the training, productive work and technical creativity encompasses about 4,000 students from 30 Moscow schools. The young people come here 1 day weekly. At first they simply become acquainted with the enterprise and then join the labor process the outcome of which is marketable goods with the OTK seal. Such goods are dispatched to more than 100 cities in the Soviet Union and a number of socialist countries.

One hour is spent on theoretical training. The students learn how to read technological charts, define the conditions for implementing their assignments and select the proper tools and materials. The curriculum includes information on electrical engineering, electronics, knowledge of machines and materials, automation, metal technology, production planning and organization, plant economics, and safety equipment. Five hours are spent in actual serious and responsible work which culminates in tough and strict quality control and payment of wages based on labor.

In the electrical engineering shop the youngsters assemble miniature electric motors; in the radio engineering shop they put together small radio receivers; in the clothing shop girls sew clothes for dolls; in the printing shops the students produce a variety of printed matter. What is most striking, as one steps over the threshold of these brightly lit premises filled with young workers in white smocks? Above all, the efficient organization of collective activities and a happy and alive atmosphere.

From the very first days the youngsters learn about enterprise economic indicators, the objective of the plant, the organization of the plant's socialist competition (in which they are included), the drafting of the technical-industrial-financial plan, and the basis on which wages are paid (to them as well). They become full participants in the actual production process.

The most labor-intensive operations are performed by adult workers in separate shops.

The fact that at the Chayka Plant school students work together with adults is not dictated by production conditions alone: their joint labor also ensures the most efficient and most expedient means for transmitting the social experience of the senior to the younger generation. Adults and students are Chayka's single labor collective. This integrity is based by common interests, primarily their concern for the implementation of the state plan.

Let us note that the Chayka Plant school is an economically very profitable enterprise. During the nearly 20 years of its existence it has manufactured and sold goods worth 42.7 million rubles. Payments to the state budget and the turnover tax totaled 19.8 million rubles. Therefore, Chayka has been making its contribution to the common project of the working people. This, however, is not the main thing. What is most important is that, participating in the real production process, hand-in-hand with adult workers, the students also themselves "produce" a new type of personality as described in our party's programmatic documents.

"Our experiment was not planned for economic results," Valentin Fedorovich Karmanov, the plant's director, says. "In our case economics serves the needs of Soviet education. It meets the vital interests of the mature socialist society. We frequently hear that the school must prepare people for work. What a great deal has been written and said on this subject! Alas, in fact, today most frequently we are witnessing a "lengthy growing-up process," as Doctor of Philosophical Sciences V. Turchenko, accurately wrote in PRAVDA. This was put mildly. It could also have been said that with a dragged-out "training" for labor, there develops a totally unjustified social infantilism against a background of physiological acceleration. The result is that we frequently raise young men and women who do not know where to apply the excess of their physical strength, who are able to do little, who have not realized who they are and what they can do, and who harm themselves through their primitive claims. One must not "prepare" for work. One must actually work, and in the course of a planned, useful and socially necessary activity become a worthy member of our society--a conscientious worker, the bearer of high civic standards, able to live the rich life of the builder of a new world.

Consumerism is one of the worst enemies of socialism. It is the base of many "diseases" and sneaks into the person's nature from childhood and adolescence, developing the habit of merely receiving, taking and satisfying whims without working, without learning how to give, how to be useful to others and to experience happiness by contributing to the common cause.

Exploitation of children and adolescents is inconceivable in the Soviet Union. Article 42 of the USSR Constitution expresses special concern for the health of the growing generation, "including the banning of child labor unrelated to training and labor upbringing." But equally incompatible with the norms governing our lives are all forms of parasitism, dependence, loafing and other similar pathological phenomena. They are triggered by nonlabor upbringing

which harms man's social health. The organization of school production at the Chayka Plant is precisely aimed at strengthening the physical and moral health of the students. It pursues an objective perfectly natural to young people and consistent with their very spirit: channeling their activities toward the highest manifestation of human activities, i.e., into productive and socially useful labor.

Once Anton Semenovitch Makarenko had called upon educators to organize school life in such a way that the growing generation would become organically included within the system of socialist production relations (something he practiced himself). A visit to the Chayka Plant will clearly prove that this appeal by the great educator is being implemented here most successfully. If ever a pedagogical museum is set up, some of its most valuable exhibits should include the FED camera, which was assembled for the first time in the 1930s by the children Communard-Makarenkovists, and a transistor receiver, a microelectronic engine and clothes manufactured by senior classmen at the Chayka Plant.

The high road to the development of the main sector of "spiritual production" is the wise school of productive labor organically included in the secondary education system ("machine tool plus school bench," as the newspaper IZVESTIYA once wrote, accurately).

The founders of scientific communism described the schools of the future. While exposing the vicious nature of the capitalist exploitation of child labor, they drew attention to the tremendous usefulness to the growing generation of a sensibly organized productive toil. In his 1866 "Instruction to the Delegates of the Provisional Central Council on Some Matters," K. Marx wrote that "we consider the trend in modern industry of drawing children and adolescents of both sexes to participate in the great cause of public production a progressive, healthy and legitimate trend, although under the capitalist system it has assumed a distorted shape. In a sensible social system every child, from the age of 9, should become a productive worker in the way that every able-bodied adult must obey the general law of nature, i.e., that he must work in order to eat and work not only with his head but with his hands" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 16, p 197).

In the first volume of "Das Kapital" Marx describes the sensible social system according to which "in the case of all children over a certain age productive labor will be combined with training and calisthenics, not only as one of the means for increasing public production but as the only means for the production of comprehensively developed individuals" (op. cit., vol 23, p 495).

The expediency of the participation of children in productive toil was to Marx unquestionable. In his words, however, "in no case should it be allowed to use child and adolescent labor unless combined with education" (op. cit., vol 16, p 198). The separation of mental from physical labor leads the student youth to a one-sided and strictly theoretical training, whereas a thorough knowledge of the subject can be acquired only when studies are combined with practical work.

In supporting this idea and defending it from petit bourgeois distortions, in turn, V. I. Lenin wrote that "... one cannot imagine the ideal of a future society without combining education with the productive toil of the young generation: neither training nor education without productive labor nor productive labor without parallel training and education can enable us to reach the height required by the contemporary level of technology and the condition of scientific knowledge" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 2, p 485).

This means that the quality of training, the amount of knowledge, its depth, comprehensiveness and durability under conditions in which students participating in productive toil not only should not be belittled compared with what the students gain by studying an entire day but, conversely, should be "raised to a level" consistent with the highest level of contemporary production forces in society and contemporary material and spiritual culture as a whole. Marx as well indicated the superiority of training students who systematically participate in productive labor: "The combination of paid productive labor with mental education, physical exercise and polytechnical training will raise the working class considerably above the level of the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 16, p 198).

This is only one aspect of the matter. The other, no less important, one is that in turn the productive toil of students, combined with education, should be on a level which could not be reached without parallel education.

Such are the views of the classics of scientific communism.

Soviet education must proceed on the basis of this theoretical legacy.

The victory of the Great October Revolution not only liberated labor from the chain of exploitation and degradation but immeasurably enhanced the social prestige of labor. It gave the citizens the right to work and opened to them an unparalleled scope for its exercise. Labor became the highest yardstick of the dignity and social prestige of the individual.

The heroic stages covered in building socialism in the Soviet republic were also stages in the development of a qualitatively new type of public education unparalleled in history. Each of these stages was characterized by its own features, specific tasks and requirements related to objectively changing conditions in social life. It was along that way that the idea of combining training with labor ran throughout the creative searches of progressive educators. The beneficial influence of this combination on the development and upbringing of the students and the growing generation as a whole, was noted by N. K. Krupskaya, A. V. Lunacharskiy, P. P. Blonskiy, S. T. Shatskiy and many others. A. S. Makarenko had outstanding achievements in the practical implementation of labor education. His experience is of permanent value.

The significantly increased economic power by the mid-1950s made it possible to allocate some of the funds of industrial enterprises, construction projects, sovkhozes and kolkhozes to the better organization and scientific substantiation of the labor upbringing of children.

In December the USSR Supreme Soviet passed the "Law on Strengthening the Ties Between School and Life and the Further Development of the Public Education System in the USSR." According to it, the leading principle in secondary school training and education was the close tie between education and labor and the practice of communist construction. "It must be stipulated," Article 3 of the law reads, "that the full secondary education of young people, starting at the ages of 15-16, must be based on the combination of education with productive toil so that all young people within this age group engage in socially useful labor."

It was then that the initial student production brigades appeared across the country. The valuable initiative of educators and party and economic workers in the Stavropol area enjoyed extensive support and popularity.

Thus, the experience in labor cooperation between the Novopavlovsk Secondary School and the Kolkhoz imeni XX S'yezda KPSS became widely known. In describing it, kolkhoz chairman P. G. Godin highly rated the educational role of student productive work in shaping a communist outlook, the moral features and the labor and social experience of the youth. "This influence becomes most productive," he said, "when the student brigade is an autonomous cost-effective unit in the kolkhoz, when it has been assigned a plot of land and its own equipment and other types of productive capital. The growing generation can be trained for work in public production only under conditions similar to proper production work."

V. A. Sukhomlinskiy devoted a great deal of effort to and wrote outstanding works on labor upbringing problems. We read in his book "Mudraya Vlast' Kollektiva" [The Wise Power of the Collective] that "popular pedagogy teaches us that from the time a child learns to take a spoon from his bowl to his mouth the child must work. We try to implement this wise rule in a delicate area of education such as shaping the citizen and the patriot. Work for other people, the collective, society and the future is the most important source of moral consciousness and moral feelings, particularly feelings of personal honor and dignity.... During childhood all of our pupils participate in the creation of material values which will be useful to people for decades and perhaps centuries" (V. A. Sukhomlinskiy, "Izbr. Ped. Soch." [Selected Pedagogical Works], vol 3, Pedagogika, Moscow, 1981, p 292).

The Bogdan Secondary School imeni V. I. Lenin, Znamenskiy Rayon, Kirovograd Oblast, has achieved outstanding results in labor education under the guidance of I. G. Tkachenko, one of the outstanding educators of today. The entire system of school and educational work, the activities of student production brigades in particular, are concentrated here on the ideological and moral training and psychological preparedness of the future grain-grower-mechanizer. By combining studies with work to the extent of their capabilities and by participating in the socialist competition the brigade members learn their first lessons of actual labor life.

The efficiency of the activities of a student production brigade depends on the availability of a training-experimental farm, a scientific annual economic plan and a work schedule. The participation of school students in

agricultural production makes them aware of the very nature of a broad range of professions and skills.

Any further progress in such a combination of training with production work presumes the mastery by the students of the new agricultural equipment and progressive technology and the latest recommendations of contemporary science, broadening the range of organizational and production functions in the management system, student self-management in particular, and strengthening ties among science, specialists and agricultural production frontrankers.

At the beginning of the 1960s training shops in factories and plants, and jobs especially prepared for students at industrial enterprises, made their appearance within the school educational system.

The Chayka Plant experimental school opened in Moscow in 1963.

Changes in the public production structure and the scientific and technical revolution formulated their demands regarding the general education school. The principal among them were an essential reorganization of the traditional training methods and principles, making the content of school education consistent with the tasks of social practice, establishing direct ties with production, and improving the system of youth vocational guidance. In their speeches the party leaders pointed out that a production worker of a new type is emerging, a person whose broad outlook and professional skills are combined with a profound knowledge of the polytechnical foundations of the contemporary production process and the ability rapidly to master the latest machines and technological processes.

The beginning of yet another form of labor upbringing of urban school students--interscholastic training-production combines--appeared at the beginning of 1974.

The same year the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences held a general meeting especially devoted to the topical problems of polytechnical education and labor upbringing. Representatives of the pedagogical sciences, the schools and economic sectors discussed all related problems and adopted a resolution which noted the need of expanding and intensifying theoretical and experimental research aimed at resolving the problems raised by reality. Labor education was considered the leading link in the overall school system. It was emphasized that it cannot be achieved through schooling alone.

"The principle of polytechnical training mandatorily demands that training be combined with the individual labor of the students," V. G. Zubov, USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences vice president, said at the session. "It requires the development of basic labor habits and practical acquaintance with labor itself in the course of it rather than at specially organized classes away from reality."

In the opinion of A. V. Zaporozhets, the noted Soviet psychologist, labor education must begin quite early, in the first years of life; all age groups during which the personality is shaped must be imbued with labor activities;

the scientist was concerned by the fact that the "narrow-didactic tasks of training the children initially in mathematics and literacy occasionally push general educational problems into the background" and that in the initial grades labor takes less time and is more monotonous and, above all, less meaningful than in kindergarten. "It has been made didactic and is insufficiently aimed at performing perhaps minor and quite simple but obviously useful things needed by other people. Yet it is only this type of meaningful work of importance to others, rather than simply exercises in labor operations, it is precisely this kind of labor...that is of truly moral importance and is an efficient factor in molding the moral qualities of the child's personality.... In moral upbringing practice the educators still frequently misuse purely verbal methods of influence (conversations, admonitions, moralizing) while paying insufficient attention to the organization and management of the practical, the labor activeness of the children's collective."

A number of interesting forms of organization of student work were demonstrated at the session. Amazing though it might seem, the Chayka Plant, the most interesting and outstanding example, in our view, was not included in the many interesting examples which were demonstrated.

Its successful experience, by then 11 years old, was not even mentioned. Yet it had already been discussed in the central press. Furthermore, on the eve of the session of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences General Assembly, the journal SOVETSKIYE PROFSOYUZY (No 18, 1974) published the article "Will Chayka Remain An Isolated Example?"

The fact of this publication was in itself symptomatic. The attention of the public at large was drawn not only to one of the methods for attracting adolescents to production work but was also focused on a phenomenon of great social importance and to a growing need to answer a problem of social practice. It was an expression of concern. "The Chayka experimental plant," the journal wrote, "has lasted in the course of our rapidly developing events for so long that it should not be the only one of its kind." The book of visitors at the plant--party, soviet and trade union workers, educators and sociologists--contains a number of enthusiastic practical impressions and urges that the Chayka experience become widespread in the country.

Alas, the USSR Ministry of Education failed to show any active interest in the school or to give it practical assistance, limiting itself to an official approval. This may have been the result of a narrow departmental approach ("it is not one of ours"), for the initiative in creating Chayka belongs not to the ministry but to the Moscow party and soviet organs.

Given the broadening of the industrial front and the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the level of training of secondary school students for work and life proved to be obviously inadequate, and in December 1977 the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers adopted a special decree "On Further Improving the Training and Upbringing of Working People in General Educational Schools and Preparing Them for Labor." The decree noted that under the circumstances of universal mandatory secondary

education, the current organization of labor training, education and vocational guidance of the students do not meet the increased requirements of public production and scientific and technical progress; many school graduates enter life without the necessary labor training. They have no proper idea of the basic mass skills and experience difficulties in going to work in the national economy. The Soviet school and the science of education were given the task of developing the type of training and education of the growing generation which would ensure that every young person acquire a profound knowledge of the foundations of science and make the acquisition of a specific skill possible. To this effect, the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers formulated a number of specific measures. The USSR Ministry of Education and the councils of ministers of union republics were asked substantially to broaden the material base for labor training and education on the basis of using the facilities of enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhoses in the vicinity of the schools.

In the years which followed, the people's well-being improved further on the basis of the upsurge of the economy and increased public production efficiency; the socialist way of life and the entire system of social relations developed. Along with this the education and cultural standards of the people were enhanced and public education continued to develop.

The nature of labor changes substantially under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution. In turn, this leads to changes in the nature of preparing people for work and tests the "strength" and substantiveness of the methods used in combining school training with production.

The 1978 scientific report drafted by the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research for the USSR Gosplan said: "The Chayka school plant in Moscow...is the only one in which students acquire a labor training in the course of actual productive labor and engage in real socialist production the results of which are included in the country's overall commodity turnover on the basis of strict and mandatory plans." Sociological studies conducted at the plant by the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research indicated the tremendous satisfaction expressed by the students with the process of productive labor, its powerful impact on the social maturity of the young people and the highly economic efficiency of school production.

Professor E. Andre and G. Jann, a psychologist, guests from the GDR, recorded their impression as follows: "The Chayka production combine and its work method were of great interest to us. It is pleasing to see how the experience of Makarenko, the great Soviet educator, is being applied by the enterprise's collective."

"The Chayka school plant is a very progressive and promising method for combining training with productive labor by school students... I am convinced that the practical experience of this plant will help us to improve socialist education and upbringing..." was the view expressed by V. Sikora, member of the Scientific Research Pedagogy Institute in Prague.

A Bulgarian delegation of members of the BCP Central Committee and the Bulgarian Ministry of Public Education studied with great interest the experience of the Chayka Plant and gave it a high rating. "The Chayka Plant is implementing one of the great communist ideas of involving young people in material production. This is of tremendous importance in the education of the students and this activity is a major and honorable project" (L. Stanoev, editor in chief of the Bulgarian journal PROBLEMI NA KOMUNISTICHESKOTO VUSPITANIE).

Leo Vernig, director of the UNESCO Council of the International Education Bureau (Geneva) said: "This is a very inspiring experiment in the field of education, which can give a number of useful lessons to educators in many countries. The problem of linking schools to productive labor is one of the most serious problems and the Chayka plant-school is providing a new solution."

Unquestionably, plant director V. F. Karmanov deserves a great deal of credit for this. He is described as a "modern-day Makarenko." Actually, he is the most consistent follower of the Makarenko educational system, who was able to implement under contemporary conditions, which are quite different from conditions in the 1930s, the ideas of the author of the "Pedagogical Poem," and to prove the viability and relevance of his system.

The personal qualities of party member V. F. Karmanov are outstanding: He has an active and truly wise mind, organizational abilities, energy and purposefulness and personal charm which greatly attracts both the adults and the young. They have enabled him to create a truly socialist labor collective in which efficiency, discipline, reliability and accuracy are combined with high morality and pure and sincere human relations. The educational successes achieved here are entirely natural. "He is a striking and unique manager," wrote PRAVDA about him. According to specialists, he deserves credit for having borrowed from Makarenko's system everything which had remained relevant, firmly surmounting any difficulty which inevitably accompanies any innovational initiative. He has been able to combine a progressive education theory with the practice of a modern industrial-pedagogical enterprise.

A special exhibit at the USSR Exhibition of Achievements of the National Economy showed the accomplishments of the school plant. Furthermore, it presented a duplicate of parts of the training shops and the visitors were able to see directly the way the children had organized their labor; an all-union seminar on this experience was held as well. Addressing it, V. F. Karmanov said:

"The Leninist principle of combining the education of young people with productive labor can be accomplished only in a modern socialist enterprise. It provides a favorable base for the development of initial labor skills and, something which is of particular importance, the environment in which a communist attitude toward labor and the public enterprise is developed. Man realizes his value as a person and learns how to be a person through productive toil."

When the Chayka Plant was opened, some pedagogical scientific research institutes and educators called for the installation of comprehensive automation and mechanization facilities. Karmanov opposed this categorically, for the students were to be given the opportunity to work with their hands and to feel the charm of work precisely through their hands. "It is not 'press button' technology, which excludes the need for the person himself to engage in purposeful operations and it is not the 'assembly-line' process, which ties the worker down to a steadily moving belt and imposes monotonous actions, but rather the implementation of a meaningful technological task which demands a mental and physical stress and which enables the person to display initiative which is needed." He was right. The students would hardly have remained at the plant had they been working beside a mechanized conveyor belt. Naturally, engaging in primitive manual labor would have been equally unsuitable. Experimentally, Karmanov found the proper combination between manual and machine labor, which is one of Chayka's main secrets.

One of the initial suggestions was to base the work of the students on special norms and rates. This was firmly rejected, for the entire meaning here was not only to expose the students to real production work but also to give them the opportunity to become fully aware of the reality of the work within the context of the existing system of economic categories and to see the real cost of efforts and earned kopeks.

An essential feature is that at the plant the students work in brigades consisting of 12 to 17 people, which make up entire collectives, within which the individuals feel like an inseparable part of a specific social organism, see the contribution their individual work makes to the overall result and realize at the same time their responsibility. That is how socialist collectivism and high moral principles are cultivated.

The brigades adopt monthly and annual plans, discuss assignments, the cost of the work and norm fulfillments; the brigade leaders, elected among the students, allocate the work and supervise its quality and the discipline. If necessary a brigade leaders' council meets in the presence of the chief of shop or his deputy, the senior foreman and the shift foreman. The agenda includes summing up the results of the shift, the course of the socialist competition, the observance of internal plant regulations and brigade leaders' accountability reports. This maintains a status of high-level work stress, while the senior comrades can steadily follow the successes and moods of the students, help them promptly and contribute to their civic development and spiritual growth. These problems are steadily monitored by the administration and the plant party organization as well.

The young people who have not as yet developed psychological stereotypes readily adopt all progressive forms of production and management of the labor collective (brigade contracting, labor participation coefficient, "related quality," and so on).

Initiative and the desire to create something new which would contribute to more efficient output and would facilitate labor operations are encouraged. Every year practical science conferences are held at the plant, at which the

students submit reports on their projects for new technical solutions and independent rationalization suggestions. Some of the achievements of the clever young students include an appliance for testing electric motors, a humidity indicator, a general-purpose measuring instrument for radio amateurs, an electronic lock, and others.

Of the 25,000 students who have worked at the Chayka Plant 21,000 have received a worker rating. About 8,000 have been presented with a variety of material and moral awards; 3,000 have entered a management school open to them and have worked as brigade leaders, assistant foremen, voluntary labor safety inspectors and so on. Some 600 students have acquired a reputation in technical creativity and have participated in the work of 12 practical science conferences for school students.

The experience of the Chayka school plant and of the agricultural student production brigades we mentioned, indicates that the work of the students at their "own" plant, their "own" field or their "own" livestock farm helps them to develop as true masters of the work. We unwittingly recall Lenin's words: "One can become a true communist only through labor, alongside the workers and the peasants" (op. cit., vol 41, p 317).

Noteworthy in this light are the voices of the skeptics who questioned the usefulness of the cooperation between schools and the production process and believe that the facts of such cooperation are excessively "idealized," pointing out as their counterargument accidental, atypical and naive solutions adopted in the past, when territorial relations were sought and the closest plant might have been a beer brewery, a tobacco factory or any other unsuitable enterprise. It is ridiculous to question on this basis the expediency of cooperation between school and production and to add that "one should not also idealize workers playing the role of educators" ("Vospitaniye v Trude" [Education in Labor], Pedagogika, Moscow, 1975, p 113).

What can one say to this? Given some effort, anything healthy could be turned into absurdity. "Idealizing," is one thing, however, and understanding a legitimate trend something entirely different. The reinsurance of individuals who think in terms of the usual categories and are ready to use demagogy when discussing the harm of "pedagogy of calluses," is understandable. Nothing new is found here and we recall in this connection the Gotha program of the German socialists. In criticizing it, Marx wrote that "the total ban of child labor is incompatible with the existence of large-scale industry, for which reason it is nothing but a meaningless, pious wish. The implementation of this measure...would be reactionary, for in a strict regulation of the working time based on the age group and with other measures to protect the children, the early combination of production work with training is one of the most powerful means for the reorganization of contemporary society" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 19, p 31). It is only by combining mental with physical education, polytechnical training and the study of humanities, exposure to cultural values and socially useful productive labor, the independent efforts of the individual and collective purposeful activities that the socialist upbringing of the youth can reach a level unattainable in bourgeois society.

We know that lessons in manual labor were offered even in the prerevolutionary high schools attended by the children of the privileged classes. However, productive labor becomes the true maker of the personality of a new socialist type when it is not random, when it is not reduced to a game but becomes a steady daily obligation: not 2-4 hours per week but 3 hours daily, as A. Gitalov, N. Kalinichenko and I. Tkachenko (PRAVDA, 21 November 1980), B. Nikitin (SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 3 March 1983) and others have written. This idea is shared by Chayka as well. Naturally, systematic productive labor requires the restructuring of the training process on a more efficient educational basis, which enables us to eliminate the need for mandatory homework without harming the training process. Everyone must realize that with homework (which takes 4-5 or more hours in the senior grades) it is difficult for the students not only to participate in productive work but to meet their basic obligations at home as well. That is what develops egotism in the character, the habit of taking without giving, helplessness in resolving many problems at home, and arrogance concerning a number of simple yet necessary forms of work. The moral meaning of this is obvious and clear to any unprejudiced mind.

It was no accident that the Komsomol Central Committee accountability report to the 19th Leninist Komsomol Congress noted that in many schools labor education is still unsystematic. Theoretical knowledge is not supported by practical work and occasionally the students are only playing at working. The consequence of this is that "...many students do not know how to hold a hammer, repair a switch, sew, cook, and look after themselves at home and at school."

Labor training must be the foundation of education. It is the only real linchpin of all mental, physical, political, moral and esthetic development of the socialist personality.

Practical experience proves that the labor upbringing of the young generation, working together with adult workers in town and country, an education built on the comprehensive development of collectivism, is the only way to improve Soviet secondary school education today.

This trend is expressed not only in the fact that school and production work go hand-in-hand, seeking efficient means of cooperation, but also in the attitude toward productive toil shown by the students themselves. The children seek self-assertion in useful activities and when such activities are filled with the spirit of collectivism, yielding tangible and visible results, many even most difficult pedagogical problems can be resolved easily.

What training-production combines lack compared to Chayka is that organizationally they are unable to create a single labor collective of secondary school students. According to the "standard regulation...", the main tasks of interscholastic training-production combines are not productive work or the manufacturing of real items but merely "acquainting the students with labor processes and the content of the labor performed by workers at enterprises; providing vocational guidance to the students with a view to preparing them for a conscious choice of profession; developing in the students

basic labor skills in their chosen profession" ("Trudovoye Obucheniye, Vospitaniye i Professional'naya Oriyentatsiya Uchashchikhsya Srednikh Obshcheobrazovatel'nykh Shkol" [Labor Training, Education and Vocational Guidance of Secondary General Educational School Students]. A collection of documents. Prosveshcheniye, Moscow, 1980, p 57). The children cannot see the real meaning for themselves or society of labor training at most training-production combines. The abstract idea of the expediency of this work, which is not supported through practical activities but is only verbally asserted, is unconvincing and its formal acceptance cannot yield the desired results.

Whenever more inspired instructors in some training-production combines apply productive work and organize the production of certain items, they naturally go beyond the limits of the standard regulation and objectively take the path chosen by Chayka.

The development of forms of labor education as practiced at Chayka offers extremely rich pedagogical opportunities. The most important among them is the development of a socialist attitude toward labor, which here becomes not a bookish abstraction but an immediate reality which includes in its crucible the living and malleable human "material" out of which the school must mold personalities of a new type.

Based on available experience, what should be the next steps in improving this method? Obviously, it would be expedient for the "school-enterprise" association to have its permanent contingent of students (from the first to the 10th grade). This would strengthen even further the influence of the production factor on the training process and on all the aspects of molding the young people. The participation of the students in material production would begin far earlier which, incidentally, is already taking place at Chayka. However, according to current stipulations, it is only 9th and 10th grade students who are allowed to undertake labor training in training-production combines, i.e., the molding of the most important social qualities of the individual has been programmed with a substantial delay.

Logically, all of this points to the desirability of combining not only training with production but scientific research and extracurricular education processes under a single roof. Changing the structural units of public education inevitably raises the question of comprehensively improving the system of their management, bringing their management organs maximally closer to the training and education process and labor by students and direct production, and giving the educational system the necessary material and cadre support.

What makes the management experience in Chayka instructive?

Here the collective of students, adult workers and educators acts as a single entity. Each one of them has its own management organ (student board, faculty council and production-technical council). The plant's management is the overall "orchestra" conductor. The party, trade union and Komsomol organizations are actively involved in all matters pertaining to the school-enterprise in accordance with their statutory tasks.

It would be fair to extend to the workers in school-enterprises related to the organization of the training-production and education processes the pedagogical benefits applicable to schools and teachers in training-production combines.

The stipulation according to which all children's labor collectives (school workshops, training combines, production shops in technical schools and institutes, and others) are free from paying an income tax on their revenue to the budget is strictly implemented in our country. This procedure should be extended to the school enterprise as well. Currently, however, Chayka is classified as an ordinary plant and its income is subject to the rules of any ordinary industrial enterprise, although it would be sensible to channel it into the development of the material and technical base and the financing of all measures related to the education of the students. Incidentally, Marx wrote that "the expenditures incurred by technical schools should be partially compensated through the sale of their output" (op. cit., vol 16, p 198).

The Chayka experience proves that enterprises like it could develop on their own economic bases without government education subsidies. This is very important if we consider the steady growth of expenditures in education. The school-enterprise will inevitably acquire new buildings and new laboratories with modern equipment. It needs a young technician's club, sports grounds, sports-health recovery centers, a club, a library with reading rooms, and amateur performance and technical creativity circles. Chayka also needs a psychological-pedagogical laboratory and a method office which would sum up the acquired experience and engage in specific research.

The schools-enterprises must be equipped with the most modern and advanced production technology. For a number of years the Chayka personnel have persistently raised the question of the technical retooling of their enterprise.

The development of a new method of combining education with productive labor, which convincingly proved its right to life, requires the interrelated solution of a number of problems: pedagogical, school-organization, production, financial-economic and legal. No narrow departmental approach should exist here. Finding a proper solution to the entire range of problems and "laying" from the very beginning the foundations for the self-development of schools-enterprises and giving them an impetus are among the most important tasks facing the Soviet school. In the opinion of I. Lukinov, Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences vice president, who studied the experience of the Chayka school plant, the question of formulating a regulation which would stipulate the procedure and the conditions governing the organization and functioning of such establishments has become imminent.

Under our very eyes an interweaving of functions is taking place between seemingly unrelated sectors--industry and education. How to combine them? How to separate them and how to establish a clear interaction between them? The accuracy of Makarenko's conclusion to the effect that "it is only when schools are organized as enterprises that they will become socialist," has become entirely clear. However, what should the legal and financial status

of a school-enterprise be? How can it become part of the system of educational and industrial management? Also clear is the fact that the mastery of a new form cannot take place separately from the improvement of all other aspects of public education, its management system above all.... At this point a number of other questions arise, which exceed the limitations of our article (in particular, those of the radical restructuring of the educational process). They should be discussed separately and resolved in principle, without which not only the further development of Chayka and student production brigades but of the schools in general would be hindered.

Naturally, the Chayka experience does not negate many positive initiatives undertaken not only in Moscow but in Leningrad, Chelyabinsk, Kharkov, Volgograd and other cities. They are worthy of praise and support. Dialectics teaches us, however, that when we study new offshoots we should turn to their most developed branches, which would save us from becoming confused in our judgment of other similar phenomena. One thing is unquestionable: school education is entering a new stage of development based on legitimate factors. And, as is always the case when historical developments take a new turn, the new clashes with the obsolete, viewpoints become polarized and the form resists the changing content. A number of unresolved problems appear to which the opponents cling and heat up polemics to their maximum.

The progressive experience gained in combining education with productive work, as it outstrips the familiar forms of interaction between spiritual and material production, indicates further improvements in the system of molding the person of a new type, above all as a conscientious and conscious worker, the bearer of high political standards, the patriot and the internationalist entirely dedicated to the interests of his people.

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SEVASTOPOL: THRICE BORN

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[Article by N. Proskuryakov, former chief of the RSFSR Council of Ministers Sevastopol Restoration Administration]

[Text] Sevastopol celebrated its bicentennial in June 1983. Within this short historical period the city had been razed to its foundation twice and twice reborn from the ashes in the literal meaning of the term.

In June 1783, while clearing the coast of trees and shrubs, seamen and soldiers laid the foundations of a new Russian city and port in the Crimea, on the Black Sea. The city was named Sevastopol, which in Greek means "City of Glory."

The birth of the city is related to the personalities of A. V. Suvorov and F. F. Ushakov, the outstanding Russian military commanders of that time. In 1804 Sevastopol was proclaimed the main military port of the Black Sea fleet. Its name turned out to be prophetic, and the city indeed became famous the world over, as a symbol of the military valor and courage of the Russian and Soviet people and the center of many revolutionary and labor accomplishments and traditions.

Immortal glory covers Sevastopol. It was from here that the fleets of Admiral F. F. Ushakov and P. S. Nakhimov sailed off and added brilliant pages to the history of the Russian navy. The glory of Sevastopol thundered throughout the world during the period of its heroic defense, which lasted 349 days, in 1854-1855. This historical page in the city's history is written in letters of gold. L. N. Tolstoy, a participant in the defense of Sevastopol, wrote that "The great marks of this epic of Sevastopol, in which the hero was the Russian people, will endure in Russia for a long time to come."

The city was razed to its foundations. Its second birth was hard, difficult and lengthy. A. N. Ostrovskiy, the playwright, who visited Sevastopol in 1860, wrote: "I visited the unfortunate Sevastopol. One cannot see that city without tears. No stone has been left standing in the city. Coming from the sea, you see a big stone-built city in lovely surroundings. Come closer and you see a lifeless corpse."

The travel guide "Sevastopol," published in Moscow in 1874, confirms this: "Sevastopol....the suffering martyr of the Russian soil. For 19 years the city has lain in ruins under piles of burial hills..." The city was rebuilt only in 1890, and once again became the main naval base of the Black Sea fleet.

At the turn of the 20th century, Sevastopol made its contribution to the development of the Russian revolutionary movement. The armed uprising of the Black Sea seamen, headed by Lieutenant P. P. Schmidt, was one of the most important events of the first Russian revolution. During the civil war, in November 1920, the Red Army routed Vrangeli's White Guards and liberated the Crimea, including Sevastopol.

The city rapidly recovered and flourished under the Soviet system. Its industry and urban economy developed successfully. In 1939 it had a population of 114,000, nearly double that of prerevolutionary times.

Sevastopol went into battle again, in 1941. It was attacked by the Hitlerite air force before dawn on 22 June 1941. The purpose was to take out of action the main base of the Black Sea fleet with a sudden attack. "The raid was repelled," recalls Fleet Admiral Hero of the Soviet Union N. G. Kuznetsov, "and Sevastopol welcomed the dawn of 22 June fully armed, bristling with guns pointed at the sky and the sea."

The heroic epic of the second defense of Sevastopol began on 30 October 1941. It was to last 250 days and nights. The city's defenders proved themselves the worthy heirs of the valor of their fathers and enhanced their glory with new exploits. As many as 300,000 enemy soldiers and officers were killed in the battles at the approaches to the city. The defense of Sevastopol became one of the brightest pages in the history of the Great Patriotic War.

The city was liberated in 1944. The defense lines on the approaches to the city, which the enemy had been unable to breach for 250 days, and which had been since heavily reinforced by him, were breached by the Soviet forces in a powerful 5-day strike. On 9 May the Soviet troops engaged in heavy street fighting in Sevastopol's suburbs. The city was entirely cleared of the fascist aggressors.

A. A. Sarina, the former Sevastopol City Party Committee secretary, who participated in its defense and is now an honored citizen of the city, writes in her memoirs:

"The picture which the liberators of Sevastopol saw on 9 May 1944 was a terrible and indescribable one. Essentially there was no city left. Everything had been blown up, burned down and wrecked. Huge pillars of smoke rose toward the evening skies: the few remaining buildings were burning. Piles of rubbish, beams, overlaps, bomb craters, burned out fascist tanks, guns and plane wrecks littered the ground."

Only seven semiwrecked large buildings stood in the center of the city. All engineering facilities of the city and the port, water pumping stations, power plants and cables and the urban transportation system had been destroyed.

Street beds had been torn and the greenery destroyed. Less than 3,000 people huddled in the wreckage. Subsequently, many facts of the crimes committed by the Hitlerites became known. Shortly before the liberation of the city, in 1944, a large group of underground fighters led by V. D. Revyakin and N. I. Tereshchenko, had been executed by firing squad.

The rebuilding of Sevastopol from the ruins was accomplished under different socioeconomic conditions compared to its second birth. It took place in two stages and was completed in 1953.

The successful and comprehensive solution of the problem of rebuilding Sevastopol within a short time and its subsequent development are a significant contribution to Soviet postwar urban construction. This makes a discussion of the need for an extensive interpretation of this experience in works on the history of USSR construction technology and urban construction relevant and expedient.

While the war, which continued to absorb huge human and material resources, was still on, the initial wounds it had inflicted on many of the country's cities were beginning to be treated. There is no historical parallel for the simultaneous mounting of extremely large military offensive operations and restoration conducted on such a grandiose scale. This was possible only under socialist conditions. In April 1944, while bloody battles were being fought in the Crimea on the approaches to Sevastopol, the State Defense Committee (GKO) made the decision to set up a separate construction and installation unit (Sevastopolstroy). On 9 May, three construction battalions were pulled back from the front. They were put at the disposal of Sevastopolstroy and entered the city in the steps of the combat units.

The leaders of the party, soviet and construction organizations, who had returned to their native ash heap, unwittingly recalled the words of F. I. Tolbukhin, commander of the 4th Ukrainian Front: "Prepare to see the ruins of Sevastopol and to rebuild the city."

N. V. Bekhtin, USSR deputy people's commissar of construction, was appointed chief of Sevastopolstroy. The first task was to restore the installations of the main naval base of the fleet and its hydroengineering, power and industrial facilities. Meanwhile, help was given to the urban economy, and its basic needs for electric power, water supply and the resumption of activities of some industrial enterprises were met.

Regular rail communications with Moscow reopened on 25 June 1944. On 5 November, on the eve of the celebration of the 27th October Revolution anniversary, a navy squadron under the flag of Admiral F. S. Oktyabr'skiy, commander of the Black Sea fleet, returned to its base and the city immediately revived with its return.

A movement for mastering construction skills by the entire population was launched under the guidance of the city party organization. Young people, enterprise workers, housewives, physicians, educators and engineers cleared the rubbish and building sites or attended construction courses after work and on days of rest. By August 1948 they had put in more than 3 million

hours on the restoration of the city, reopened Primorskiy, Matrosskiy and Istoricheskiy boulevards and planted some 70,000 trees and shrubs.

Housing totalling 180,500 square meters was commissioned, and eight schools, six kindergartens and an 80-bed hospital were rebuilt during the first stage of the city's restoration (1944-1948). The completion of the GRES No 1, which provided Sevastopol, Simferopol, Bakhchisaray and Balaklava with industrial power, was of great importance.

The BKP(b) Central Committee and the councils of people's commissars of the USSR and the RSFSR paid great attention to resolving the urgent problems of the city's restoration. The USSR Sovnarkom passed a decree on priority measures related to rebuilding Sevastopol at the end of 1944. The RSFSR Sovnarkom approved a draft general plan for the city's restoration and reconstruction in 1946.

By the end of 1948 substantial forces and funds had been invested in the restoration of the city. Nevertheless, its appearance was still dominated by the wreckage. The party and the government passed a resolution on the accelerated restoration of Sevastopol. The second stage of the restoration began. In this connection, a Sevastopol Restoration Administration was created under the USSR Council of Ministers. Its purpose was to coordinate the efforts of a large number of ministries and departments involved in the restoration of the city and to ensure the efficient solution of general organizational construction problems. A Sevastopol Reconstruction Administration under the RSFSR Council of Ministers was created as well. It was in charge of the construction of all urban economy projects.

The approval of the 1949-1953 investments plan, with outlays broken down by ministry, department and individual projects, was of very great organizational significance. This ensured the specific implementation of the general plan for the restoration and reconstruction of the city and the assignment of the work to the construction organizations.

The restoration of the city became a truly national construction project and continued on a high political and organizational level and with the great patriotic upsurge of all participants, young people in particular.

The young people -- the future workers -- arrived in two flows between the end of 1948 and the beginning of 1949. The Komsomol organizations in various oblasts, krays and republics in the Soviet Union participated in raising new worker detachments. Forty-three FZO [Factory Training] schools were opened for this purpose, and 180 highly skilled workers were made production training foremen. Komsomol organizations were set up in the FZO schools from the very first days. The Sevastopol City Komsomol Committee, with P.M. Rogachev as its first secretary, engaged in extensive organizational and ideological-educational work in the schools. In 1948 the Sevastopol City Komsomol Organization was awarded the Order of the Red Banner.

The example of the training of many thousands of students in restoration work was of tremendous educational importance. Meetings with leaders of party, soviet and construction organizations and veterans of the heroic defense of

Sevastopol were systematically held at the schools, along with general city meetings and rallies of young construction workers.

Sevastopol became a city under republic jurisdiction, with its own separate budget. The necessary allocations, substantial material resources, a large amount of construction equipment and additional manpower were procured for the city. Whereas during the first period (1944-1948) 7,000 people were engaged in restoration, their number reached 32,000 during the second and final stage (1949-1953).

The city party committee and its secretaries helped the construction workers to resolve many practical problems and supervised the implementation of the plan on a daily basis. The city soviet executive committee saw to the efficient work of the city organizations on which the course and pace of construction work depended. Naturally, not everything was always smooth. Considerable difficulties had to be surmounted and arising shortcomings had to be eliminated. Heated arguments took place at the meetings of the city soviet executive committee and difference of views existed within the party gorkom. All of this took place. What did not take place were personal insults and ill will. There was no case in which a good and suitable solution could not be found. The success of the project was determined by the strict coordination of the activities and purposefulness of the work of all participants in the restoration of the city.

Everything in Sevastopol has to do with the sea and the Black Sea Fleet. The navy was the center where many important technical ideas and suggestions originated and the will shown by the seamen to restore their Black Sea capital in record time greatly contributed to the unity and increased activeness of all construction workers. On 1 May 1951, in recognition of the successes, Admiral S. G. Gorshkov, the fleet commander, in reviewing the ships lined up on the roadstead, took aboard his flagship launch 20 of the best construction workers and gave them the right to head the May Day parade of construction units. Nothing of this kind had ever been done before in the navy!

The Sevastopol Restoration Administration under the USSR Council of Ministers, headed by I. V. Komzin was headquartered in Moscow. An operative group of the administration operated in Sevastopol. The administration worked in close contact with the Crimean Obkom and the Sevastopol party gorkom.

A number of general organizational, urban construction and technical problems arose, which needed expert assessment and high implementation efficiency. An interdepartmental urban construction council was set up to this purpose. A number of problems which previously had to be discussed by the central organs could be resolved on the spot. Designers and construction workers obtained clear and full answers from the city building council. The council members dealt with the future development of the city, the building of microrayons which would ensure the best possible organization of consumer services, upgrading the quality of housing construction, improving transportation services and many other problems.

Additional problems discussed by the interdepartmental council included the development and efficient location of industrial enterprises, making use of partially standing housing and public buildings, and the height of buildings under construction. The plans were considered in the presence of their authors, designers, representatives of the center, the city's chief architect and senior construction organization officials.

The center of the city essentially retained its historical features, although it was substantially improved. To the extent to which this was possible the city streets were widened by 8-12 meters. The coast along the bays was cleared of small buildings and turned into a landscaped embankment.

The organizational solution of preplanning and construction of the city's center became one of the main tasks. Soon all districts and microrayons in the center were assigned to specific contracting and design organizations. Some organizations were put in charge of improvements and landscaping. Priorities and sequences were set in laying underground engineering facilities and deadlines were issued on the planning and construction of individual projects. Assembly-line construction was organized. All of this brought order and purposefulness to the efforts to restore the city.

The experience gained by the people of Sevastopol in organizing material procurements for construction was of substantial importance. Rationed materials, such as cement, metal and timber, were allocated directly to the main construction organizations. However, deliveries were not always smooth. At times there were surpluses in some organizations and shortages in others. In such cases the union administration efficiently resolved the problem of handling available material resources, allowing their transfer "as loans" from one organization to another, repayable later, as more materials were received. In a number of cases such flexible handling of resources prevented forced idling and violation of deadlines in the completion of individual projects.

The decision was taken to develop the production of local construction materials and to increase the capacity of the various enterprises within the Sevastopolpromstroy Trust in accordance with the requirements of all construction organizations in the city.

Before the war, the construction of housing and public building and, during the first years of the restoration of Sevastopol the traditional methods involved the use of rubble (rocks) for basements, outside walls and internal partitions, and timber and some metal girders for roofing. These structures were heavy and quite labor intensive, and required extensive plastering. They were neither durable nor attractive. However, a lightweight shell-rock -- handsome and durable -- was freely available outside the city. This material began to be extensively used in wall lining and construction.

The managements of the construction organizations shared the aspiration to apply in Sevastopol the state of the art in construction and to develop and master equipment and practical experience.

The Sevastopol construction workers were among the first in the country to apply prefabricated parts, and to organize their production at their own

construction enterprises, and subsequently to assemble them at the construction sites. In selecting efficient types of assemblies and building structures, developing a variety of goods and parts and creating enterprises for their production, the administration proceeded from the principle of serial plant manufacturing of "warehoused" parts and tried to develop the simplest possible technological systems for the manufacturing of the parts, avoiding the use of expensive equipment, complex mechanisms and attachments and large capital outlays. The problem was planned in detail on the basis of the experience gained in the restoration of Kiev, Stalingrad and Minsk.

The enterprises which had been built during the year mastered the production of 55 different types of finished and semifinished goods and reached their planned capacity by mid-1950. These items were used in the construction of house buildings, hospitals, schools, kindergartens and nurseries. They were applied in one-of-a-kind buildings such as the theater, the movie houses, the library, the Hotel Sevastopol, the building of the city executive committee and others. Progressive and efficient construction methods were used, although to this day questions of the possibility and expediency of using standardized items in various types of construction are still being discussed in many large cities.

For example, in his book "Zapiski Stroitel'ya" [Builder's Notes], the well-known Soviet builder A. N. Komarovskiy describes the academic city of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department near Novosibirsk as follows: "A special catalog of industrial items, mandatory for all design organizations carrying out projects for the Sibirakademstroy was drawn up." The same had been accomplished in Sevastopol 10 years earlier.

The establishment of a production base made it possible as early as 1950 substantially to enhance the level of organization of the work at the construction sites, and the volume of work, which had been increased by one half after 1 year, was met without increasing the number of workers.

The center of Sevastopol was rebuilt according to the plan on the basis of the principles of standardization of residential sections and a catalog of pre-assembled items serially manufactured at the enterprises of the construction base. However, this did not deprive the architects of the possibility of doing creative work. A number of such buildings were erected between 1949 and 1953. No two of them were alike and together they present an amazing architectural ensemble. Their appearance is noted for the lack of breaks and excessively detailed facades, the use of loggias and balconies in the residential buildings, the simplicity of architectural forms and the soft whiteness of Inkermann limestone. The creative successes of Soviet architecture of the restoration period, still striking for the beauty and originality of solutions in the rebuilding of entire city districts, streets and rayons, were clearly manifested in the architecture of the center of reborn Sevastopol.

Today, 30 years later, if we were to characterize briefly the organizational and technical level and the trend followed in the work of the organizations which participated in rebuilding Sevastopol, we could say with complete justification that the implementation of this task was based on scientific and technical progress, the application of the state of the art in science and

technology of that period, the use of the progressive principles of Soviet urban construction and the application of progressive construction methods. Between 1949 and 1953 the people of Sevastopol were in the lead in industrial construction and selflessly worked on the restoration of the city. The city's population and the Black Sea seamen brought into the construction collectives the great traditions of the defenders of Sevastopol and led the construction workers with the enthusiasm of their hearts in rebuilding the city as rapidly as possible. Many of the young workers are now top specialists in their work.

The restored city became the best monument in honor of those who fought for its defense, those who hammered out weapons under a hail of bombs and shells and secured the rear lines of the defenders, and those who stormed Sapun-gora and liberated Sevastopol from the fascist aggressors. Today the restored city is a witness of the labor exploit of its builders. The epic of its rebirth has been inscribed in the annals of history as the third (labor) exploit of Sevastopol.

Sevastopol is celebrating its bicentennial. Its population has tripled since 1939 and its housing has quintupled compared to prewar times. The city has developed as a large industrial center, particularly in terms of instrument manufacturing and ship repairs, and as a base for ocean fishing.

The entire history of Sevastopol is tied to the sea and the Black Sea navy. Its museums and monuments sacredly preserve the memory of the city's heroic past and are precious to the hearts of all Soviet people. As in the past, it remains the pearl of the Black Sea fleet and one of the most beautiful cities in the Soviet Union.

In consideration of the revolutionary and combat merits of the city's working people and their contribution to strengthening the economic and defense power of the country, and on the occasion of its bicentennial, by ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Sevastopol was awarded the Order of the October Revolution. It was thus that the exploit of the heroic thrice-born Sevastopol was properly honored.

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[Article by A. Metchenko on the occasion of the 90th anniversary of V. V. Mayakovskiy's birth]

[Text] Twentieth-century world poetry is rich in examples of talent. The most outstanding among them, by universal recognition, is Vladimir Mayakovskiy. To this day we are still insufficiently aware of the uniqueness of this phenomenon despite its entirely natural existence. There are few examples in the history of art in which great times, at the peak of their accomplishments, acquire a worthy poet, a poet who, placed "in the center of actions and events" of his time, perpetuates these times and their actions and exploits them through his talent.

This is precisely the way progressive mankind looks at Mayakovskiy today. His popularity has long crossed the boundaries of countries and continents.

The work of a great artist is always filled with mysteries. The fact that Mayakovskiy, whose activities in literature did not exceed 2 decades, and who became the most outstanding representative of 20th-century progressive poetry is a mystery in itself, a century of which the 26th CPSU Congress said that it brought with it greater changes than any other century...

Mayakovskiy was a contemporary and participant in the main change of universal historical significance--the conversion of mankind from one era to another, the appearance of a new civilization. Mayakovskiy was not alone in experiencing the luck of being the contemporary of great change.

The artist and his times...this is one of the eternal problems which assumes particular relevance in periods of major social upheavals and intensive ideological struggle. In terms of Mayakovskiy, as we said, history has long resolved it so convincingly that a modern reader may consider strange the very idea that Mayakovskiy may have had some difficulties in coping with his epoch. However, the total merger of the poet with his time, which awarded him the glory of being the spokesman for the new world, occurred under conditions of a most fierce struggle which continues to this day. One must be hopelessly naive not to see that the efforts of contemporary American and Western European "Sovietologists," whatever "individual" topics in the life and works of the great poet they may present to their readers, pursue the main objective of driving a wedge between Mayakovskiy and the times.

The socialist revolution opened to art the broadest possible prospects for creative accomplishments and true blossoming. However, in order to realize these opportunities and to make them consistent above all with the objectives of the revolution, a certain time had to pass. Even the famous achievements of the great Russian literature of the past could not fail to be damaged as a result of the short but destructive influence of decadent currents in pre-revolutionary bourgeois culture. The revolution was called upon to block the disintegration of culture and to give its development an impetus. This could not be accomplished without involving the already extant creative forces in the gigantic constructive work. It was precisely here, in the constructive work for the revolution rather than in abstract statements made by numerous schools and groups, that art gained the ability to revive everything viable and engage in a truly new type of creativity.

However, this was a rather complex process affecting not only those who were caught unawares by the revolution but also those who, like Mayakovskiy, joyfully proclaimed: "This is my revolution."

As we know, initially Mayakovskiy linked the building of a new artistic culture to futurism—a group of poets and artists who were hopelessly confusing, as A. V. Lunacharskiy said, their artistic revolution with the proletarian revolution, giving an abstract interpretation to both.

The question of how to assess the role of futurism in Mayakovskiy's life is still being artificially inflated in the West. A version is being promoted according to which Mayakovskiy's entire activity is amazingly in harmony with his initial position as a futurist, while futurism is considered the freedom of creativity from any laws. Allegedly, Mayakovskiy followed this consistently futuristic path.

To begin with, such interpretations are antihistorical. They involve a consistent purging of futurism from its specific nature. The abstract cleansing of Mayakovskiy's creativity of all laws (as well as life) turns the great constructive poet and discoverer of immortal artistic values into a destructive poet. This line is indeed inherent in the futurists as it is in a number of other modernistic currents (imaginism, in particular). Of late, as modernism finds itself unable to come out of its crisis, realizing the growing popularity of Mayakovskiy throughout the world, its supporters have been expressing their readiness to make him even the leader of modernism which, as a whole, is losing its prestige. Naturally, they consider more acceptable not the Mayakovskiy who, as Georges Amadou said, teaches poets "how to turn art into a weapon of the proletariat for building socialism," but Mayakovskiy as the "destroyer of canons."

That is why it is so important to counter the arbitrary and tendentious interpretations regarding this classic of socialist realism with a truly historical approach to his creativity and to clarify his true role.

As the end of this century approaches, it is no easy matter to make futurism a banner, for the course of history itself proved that Mayakovskiy and futurism (and modernism as a whole) are incommensurable phenomena.

Having taken his first steps in art linked with futurism and devoting a great deal of effort and time to its promotion, Mayakovskiy failed to achieve his objective. This failure was his victory as a poet.

The problems which he resolved in poetry were, from the very start, immeasurably broader and more significant than the objectives of any modernistic current. The faultiness and speculative nature of interpreting Mayakovskiy as the leader of modernism are expressed in the unwillingness (or inability) to approach facts not from the positions of strictly literary currents or groups but in accordance with the historical laws of the new century. Their essence is that in the course of the cleansing storms of social revolutions not only did a breakdown in bourgeois culture occur but a tempestuous growth of the new culture as well. These trends do not simply coexist. They are in a state of irreconcilable struggle. Futurism appeared in an atmosphere of crisis and bore within it all the symptoms of the crisis in bourgeois culture, cloaked in a leftist phraseology (the struggle above all against the "canons" of realistic art). As for Mayakovskiy, like personalities such as Gorkiy, Lunacharskiy and Repin, he soon realized that what he was accomplishing in art and what was preached by Burlyuk and Punin (and by himself as a propagandist for futurism) took art along different paths.

Mayakovskiy's work is noted not by the symptoms of decay characteristic of bourgeois culture on the eve of the October Revolution and the decadent currents in poetry (symbolism, acmeism, futurism) from his very first works of note. His works are a rebirth and development of a progressive democratic trend which was clearly expressed in Gorkiy's works already by the turn of the century.

In the 5 years which preceded the October Revolution Mayakovskiy wrote a number of poems and superb "Satirikon" hymns. The poems "A Cloud in Breeches," "Flute-Backbone" and "War and Peace" are among the most significant works written in the first quarter of this century.

A major poet entered the world, with a clearly manifested individuality, the temperament of a fighter and a daring power of protest against the ruling bourgeois system which had long disappeared from poetry. The author of "Cloud in Breeches" did not conceal his sympathy with the revolution. Although the censorship deleted the prophetic lines on the approaching revolution, the entire structure of the poem is imbued with its enthusiasm. No one had raised so daringly and resolved so broadly the biggest topics of the century: the destructive power of money, the senseless and inhuman nature of wars launched by imperialism, and the tragedy of human life in the capitalist world.

Already in these works Mayakovskiy was affected by the fate of mankind and the planet. From a cradle of mankind the earth had become a universal graveyard on top of which "peace preached 'rest in peace!'."

Who was to be blamed for the universal tragedy? A while later he was to name the culprit: capitalism. In his poem "Man" he describes satirically as a semifantastic monster the ruler of the world thanks to the power of money.

This satirical character is on the level of the grotesque characters created by Saltykov-Shchedrin, Rabelais and Gorkiy's "Yellow Devil."

Young Mayakovskiy's works were in the tragic style. However, the "cosmic pessimism" which, as Gorkiy said, was the disease of decadent literature, was alien to him. The closer the socialist revolution became the stronger became the poet's confidence that mankind will find enough strength to say to those who were leading it to doom an angry "no!"

The planets which run
With our lives
Obey our will.
The land is ours
The air is ours.
Our stars are diamond mines.
And we shall never,
Never!
Allow
Anyone
To tear our land with shells,
To tear our air with sharpened spears.

Although this was written before the October Revolution it is relevant to this day.

Faith in the victory of the forces of rebirth over those of disintegration clearly makes itself apparent through the tragic motifs of Mayakovskiy's pre-October works. The victory will be the people's and it is precisely the people who will restore to the world the triumph of humaneness:

The people's thunderous:
I believe
In the greatness of the human heart!

Mayakovskiy entered the storm of the great events of the socialist revolution and the fiery years of the civil war with faith in the people and in the victory of humanism.

He was proud of his profession: "I am a poet. That is what makes me interesting." How frequently, as we cite these words, we do not relate them to the main feature in Mayakovskiy's life: the fact that this life was totally dedicated to serving the revolution. The thought of revolution dominates him, whether he works on Rosta posters, or studies the "architectural beauties" of Paris, or plunges into lyrical thoughts crossing the Atlantic.

To him the revolution became a yardstick, a criterion in assessing anything valuable--social, spiritual or esthetic--defining the main direction of his innovative work: the struggle for the universal purpose of the revolution--communism.

This is the answer to the "coexistence" in the poet's works of "high art" (lyricism, poems) with genres which had never been considered part of art, a feature which irritates the opponents of the poet. However, it is precisely because he was always a poet first and foremost, that he was deeply convinced that the people, the revolution needed poetry.

How, under these conditions, to combine loyalty to the revolution with loyalty to poetry? How to combine innovation, which the development of poetry always demands, with its accessibility to the new readership, in frequent cases exposed to conventional poetry for the very first time? One could use ready-made models with which part of the readership may have already been familiar. Ignoring the ban of the futurists, the poet turns to Pushkin, Krylov and other classics. The poetry of the classics was put to work once again, this time for the revolution. This in itself was an important discovery.

The revolution demanded that all the possibilities inherent in poetry and still unused be brought forth. It broke restrictions and canons fabricated by the aesthetes.

Looking at Mayakovskiy's drawings and captions in OKNAM ROSTA, the modern reader may be unaware of the fact that at the time they were made many poets belonging to the surviving modernistic groups shouted themselves hoarse on the subject of innovation, reducing it to pure form design. Some of them proudly said that they were cleansing the form "from the dust of content, doing a better job than a shoeshine boy on the street" ("Declaration of the Imaginists," 1919).

Mayakovskiy was never indifferent to innovation in form. At the beginning of his creative career he paid dues to experimentation (such as rhyming the end of one line with the beginning of the next, and so on). However, as early as 1914 the modernistic slogan of "art for art's sake" and the futuristic slogan of "the word outside life and life's uses" were countered by Mayakovskiy with the concept that "we need the word for the sake of life. We do not acknowledge useless art." His dream was to make the lines of the poet enhance man and turn into knives in the days of the uprising.

The revolution provided the opportunity for artistic "experimentation" on an unparalleled scale compared with the past. The art of the revolution took to the streets and turned to the millions of people. Such a grandiose "social order" proved to be beyond the strength (and the liking) of most promoters of formal experimentation. As P. Antokol'skiy accurately noted, the poetry of that great period still suffered from "room habits."

The revolution demanded other habits aimed at a different audience. Mayakovskiy felt more deeply than anyone else the importance of this new prospect. Naturally, he was not alone. The reader today must give their due to initiators of mass revolutionary poetry such as Dem'yan Bednyy, Vasilii Knyazev and many others.

History, however, deservedly granted Mayakovskiy the fame of being the pioneer of Soviet and worldwide revolutionary poetry. His outstanding talent and fearlessness as an innovator proved to be close to the socialist revolution. By highly valuing the loyalty shown by the poet to the masses which had made it and faith in their victory although not concealing in the least the actual low level of their cultural development, the revolution demanded of the artist not only to take this level into consideration but to help to raise it. Mayakovskiy's early creativity already showed that his socio-humanistic ideal and aspiration to turn poetry into a weapon were consistent with such requirements.

The success of the daring and great experiment prompted by the conditions of the revolution, which Mayakovskiy undertook, was based on the fact that, turning to the people as a poet, he also showed a desire and ability to learn from the people in whom he saw not only the creator of all values in life but the maker of language as well. We find in his propaganda verses and the poem "One Hundred and Fifty Million" an extensive use of the creative work of the people themselves: sayings, proverbs, apt little words, tales and fables.

On this new field Mayakovskiy entered into competition with Dem'yan Bednyy, who enjoyed unparalleled popularity at that time, and although learning something from him he never imitated him. He developed his own style of conversation with the masses and was subsequently to assess this experience as a school for acquiring skill, cleansing the language "from the poetic layers on topics which did not admit verbosity."

It was at this point that he developed as a satirist, a master of laughter who, he was convinced, was threatened by doom before the revolution ("Monstrous Funeral"). The people became the supreme ruler, and yesterday's rulers, although still dangerous, became objects of mockery. The poet struck them with his satirical hyperbole, "cavalry of witticism," and puns.

"We worked ignoring history and glory," the poet was to say later about that period in his life.

History, however, is memory. It is above all the memory of the people. It responds to exploits in the name of the revolution. Today we are witnessing the fact that the exploit of Mayakovskiy the agitator and everything he did for the revolution sets the example on all continents to those who, together with their people, struggle for independence. Here is one of the innumerable acknowledgments: "The art of today's poet must be a weapon like a leaflet, a pamphlet or a poster. If we are able to combine within a poem the class content with the beauty of form and if we are able to learn Mayakovskiy's lesson, we can create a great revolutionary and human poetry worthy of the spiritual values which we must defend," wrote Jacques Roumain, a poet and prose writer (Haiti).

A variety of means for affecting people through poetry have existed at different times. They should not always be pitted against one another. What matters is what was passed on or bequeathed, for even personal poetry albums, which were then the fashion, have preserved the immortal lines of geniuses.

Naturally, Rosta captions are not suitable for recording in a poetry album and one could hardly memorize them as lyrical poetry. They have a different purpose. However, they found their use in the course of the lengthy struggle in the jungles of Vietnam and the poetry of the Palestinian resistance.

They are a memorial to the heroism of the masses.

The planetary scope of poetic imagination, which appeared in Mayakovskiy's pre-October poems and the experience in the use of folklore in agitation poetry, on the one hand, and the need for heroic revolutionary epics, which was discussed in the press of the times, on the other, inspired him to try to answer this question of the times. He began to plan the poem "One Hundred and Fifty Million." This too was a daring experiment in the development of the new genre. The poet emphasized that he was not writing a historical poem. The events which encouraged him to work on this poem (the civil war) had reached their peak. The poem was planned as a foresight: "Its one and only idea is to shine in the growing future."

Represented by revolutionary Russia, the new world encroached on the unchallenged imperialist rule. Imperialism could not tolerate losing its place as supreme ruler. Combining the methods of the grotesque in describing the character of Woodrow Wilson in the poem "One Hundred and Fifty Million" with the omnipotent ruler in the poem "Man," Mayakovskiy properly predicted the sinister role which American imperialism had assumed as the bulwark of the old world, hoping to preserve its domination over it for eternity.

The victory of the October Revolution, however, changed the world.

The enthusiasm contained in the poem "One Hundred and Fifty Million" was found in the praise of the universal historical exploit of Russia which liberated millions of people from capitalism.

How to praise an exploit unparalleled in the history of mankind which, however, remembered the "myth of the heroes of Homer and the history of Troy," and the exploits of the fabulous heroes? All of this paled in comparison to what was taking place in the clash between two worlds and what mankind was as yet to experience.

"One Hundred and Fifty Million" was created as a poem-myth of contemporary life. "... We shall thunder around the world the new myth," Mayakovskiy said, describing its theme.

Poets-agitators had to turn to myths, biblical in particular, quite frequently (Dem'yan Bednyy, Vasilii Knyazev). The analogy was the following: the revolution is the universal flood, and the myth of looking for the promised land, which was familiar even to the illiterate public of that time. In Mayakovskiy they not only performed the role of metaphors but pursued an antireligious purpose (particularly the scenes of hell, paradise, the appearance of Christ, and others).

Although the author mentions in "One Hundred and Fifty Million" the "bloody Iliad" and the "hungry years of the Odyssey," he emphasizes that the exploit of millions of people is "more difficult to achieve than the divine trinity."

"Ivan's Tale" (one of the titles given by the author) has become quite popular of late in the Arab countries, where it echoes the anticolonial struggle, with Ivan representing revolutionary Russia and Woodrow Wilson as the artistic-satirical expression of the inhuman practices of American imperialism.

Mayakovskiy assigned a large role to this topic. Like any great poet, who tends to interpret the meaning of life profoundly, and despite the entire variety of topics of interest, Mayakovskiy always felt a particular attraction for individual topics which could be defined as general. As a rule, they were broad: man, people, revolution, party, communism, love, and immortality. Some of them are eternal. Others belong to the century.

The widespread (and as a whole accurate) view that Mayakovskiy was a poet dealing exclusively with contemporary topics should be refined. Mocking the poet who contrast "eternal" and contemporary topics, Mayakovskiy was convinced (a conviction expressed in his works), that eternal topics and characters are not fixed once and for all. They develop in the course of the interaction between the artist and his time. He knew quite well that topics which had earned the reputation of eternal are also subject to the impact of the times and the artistic genius. The difficulty was how to make the topic of a specific century into an eternal topic. The history of literature and poetry in Mayakovskiy's time offered many examples of debasement of topics traditionally considered eternal. The poet repeatedly mocked examples of such debasement. He was particularly merciless toward them in the preface to the poem "At the Top of My Voice."

Mayakovskiy believed that the universal role played by Lenin was the main topic of the century, which was a truly eternal topic raised by history and awaiting its worthy interpretation.

We find in the poem "Vladimir Il'ich Lenin" a type of synthesis of all general topics created in Mayakovskiy's poetry. The poet never felt such a tremendous feeling of responsibility as when he began his work on the poem. "I fear these lines like an urchin fears trickery," he admitted. Feared, for Lenin was to him the embodiment of truth ("as though remaining alone for one minute with the tremendous and only truth").

The feeling of moral responsibility was closely linked with esthetics. However honest he may be in his work, an artist may fall out of tune. His insincerity, however, could be provoked by the art itself or, rather, by the noncreative attitude toward its possibilities and the choice of a wrong way.

Leninyana began to appear while Lenin was still alive and particularly developed after his death. The immeasurably sadness it created met with a national response. Alongside the memoirs of the leader's fellow workers

poetic responses appeared, of different artistic quality but captivating with their sincerity. At that stage a great deal of valuable works had already appeared. However, dangers arose as well, which a poet such as Mayakovskiy could not fail to notice.

The main danger was that of creating a mythological hero instead of a real character. This approach was based on profound traditions of praising the heroic and expressed the sincere popular need to pour out its love, gratitude and loyalty to the leader. Mayakovskiy found this approach to the topic entirely natural. He lived with the thoughts of the people. Furthermore, shortly before that, in an effort to perpetuate the popular exploit, he had resorted to a type of myth-making himself.

In his poem about Lenin, however, he chose an entirely different means to resolve a most crucial problem. What Lenin had accomplished, however legendary it might have been, was the living, the real truth. This universal exploit had been the work not of a legendary character in doubt with miraculous properties but a person, the most earthly "of all people who had ever lived on earth." In this case the refusal to mythologize was of basic importance.

The creation of a myth made it possible to express the love and loyalty of the people to a leader who had taken them to victory. However, in order to tell the entire truth of Lenin and bring to light the fullness of its exploit its real sources had to be described: "What had he accomplished? Who was he and where did he come from? Why did such honor fall on him?"

Rejecting the principle of mythologization as an unacceptable solution to the task the poet set himself, Mayakovskiy also refused to bring Lenin's character "down to earth," a fault which afflicted some of the memoirs and works of some poets who were thoughtlessly inspired by them.

Mayakovskiy opposed this trend particularly fiercely. Systematically hammering on the leitmotif of Lenin as the most earthly "of all people who have passed through earth," the poet not only invested the word "earthly" with its ordinary specific meaning ("He is the same as you and me," "He knew the weaknesses familiar to us and, like us, he struggled with illness"), but also gave it a new universal significance, for it was only he, Lenin, "who covered the entire earth in one fell swoop, who saw what was hidden behind the times."

How to present all this? This led to further searching. The most difficult problem was to develop an approach which had previously not existed either in poetry or in Mayakovskiy's experience in depicting Lenin's character.

He found it. This marked the discovery of a new way which became the main line for the poet himself and for poetry--the way of socialist realism.

Never before had Mayakovskiy's poetic thinking reached such a high dialectical level. As in his previous poems, his thoughts are broad but the scale is different. This was required by the target: to tell mankind the truth about Lenin--not only the most earthly of all men but also one of the greatest figures in universal history.

Although not historical in terms of genre surface characteristics, but a model of a poem on our time in the deepest meaning of the term, the poem

"Vladimir Il'ich Lenin" is a rare example of contemporaneity acquiring a particularly expressive nature when based on the principle of historicism.

The character in the poem is the offspring of the time and the history of Russia. He encompasses and interprets its entire revolutionary experience multiplied by the experience of all mankind. No, he was not the only one to lead to victory. The time also created Marx who discovered the "history of laws." It is on this basis that Marx "put the proletariat behind the rudder."

"I was very much afraid of this poem, for it would have been so easy to sink down to a simple political retelling of a story," the poet admitted.

Mayakovskiy surmounted this danger by choosing the hard way. Politics was the main realm of activity of the great leader. Avoiding its interpretation and poetic reflection would have meant avoiding the main feature, the truth of the character. Therefore, Mayakovskiy took not the path of retelling but of asserting the philosophical-political concept of Lenin's personality as the new leader of new popular masses cemented with the working class and its party. In turn, this concept inspired the development of a new genre and new means of creation of a heroic character.

In terms of genre and style we are faced with a philosophical-publicistic poem which synthesizes in an original manner lyricism with epic.

Mayakovskiy is one of the great lyrical poets of the 20th century. He inordinately broadened the content and volume of the concept of "lyricism" and "epic." This expansion reflected the changes which had taken place under the influence of the socialist revolution between the individual and the people and the individual and the world. Whereas the bourgeois society, with its inevitable and insurmountable alienation of the individual, leads to the poet withdrawing within himself and to narrowing the realm of lyricism, Mayakovskiy's lyricism is a "pile of love, a pile of hatred." This is the lyricism of the person expressing in his love everything that is beautiful and good in the world and hatred of anything which makes man unhappy. It is only such a powerful lyricism which could express the blend of the feelings of love, sadness, gratitude and loyalty to Lenin and hatred of anyone who hated Lenin, a blend which allowed the poet to merge with the people during the tragic days of parting with the leader.

Inasmuch as is possible to encompass phenomena and to express feelings, Mayakovskiy's lyricism does not clash with the epic but leads us to it. In depicting Lenin as "the father and the son of the revolution," the poet set himself the task of proving Lenin's participation and role in the history of the revolution in the course of his interaction with the people. This epic was created through the means of political journalism. Historical facts are presented with different degrees of specificity in the various events. The dominating trend is that they become more specific the closer they come to our time. Whereas in the first part of the poem events are treated in terms of centuries (Lenin's prehistory), in the final part, (parting with the leader) the individual day and even minute assumes tremendous importance ("how bitter it is that so few are the minutes left..."). Here the role of lyricism grows as well.

The poem about Lenin is a turning point in Mayakovskiy's solution of the problem of the positive character. We already pointed out that the topic of man, his role in life and his purpose, man who can justify and enrich the capabilities given to him by nature, was one of the main themes in his work. Man is beautiful and inexhaustibly talented, Mayakovskiy claimed already in his pre-October poetry. He is also doomed to suffering in a world which knows "merely the clinking of gold pieces." The hero of the poem "One Hundred and Fifty Million," who acquired in the revolution the strength to fight an unfair world, blending with millions of others and becoming a particle of them, emerges the winner but no longer an individual.

Work on the character of Lenin was of essential importance in resolving the eternal problem (that is precisely the way it appeared in the pre-October poem)--the problem of man. Lenin is the first epic hero in Mayakovskiy's works, combining the features of the specific, earthly and real person ("He was just like you and me but perhaps his features were more wrinkled than ours and his lips more mocking and firm than ours"), a Man, with a capital M.

Lenin, however, is a genius. Even when he is "like you and me" he remains different. He is different in terms of his actions and his mind." "He can encompass the world in one fell swoop." He sees "that which time conceals." Humanity acquires its ideal manifestation in Lenin. However, the image of the character created by Mayakovskiy would be totally unsuitable in building a fictitious concept of the ideal hero toward which Soviet literature should allegedly be oriented.

Not every participant in the revolution or builder of socialism can become a Lenin. Lenin is the peak which history awarded mankind. However, every revolutionary and builder of socialism can and must use Lenin as a model. The leitmotif of the poem is that Lenin's power and brilliance lie in the fact that he is not alone. "Revolutions are heavy objects, no single person can lift them, for his legs would bend. However, Lenin was first among equals in power of will and levers of the mind." He created a party of like-minded people, "the stern guard shaped by Lenin." A character of tremendous philosophical significance appears: mankind has gained the ability of becoming a single family in which history is the mother and Marx is the eldest son. "The party and Lenin are twin brothers." They are the prototype of future mankind. All of these descriptions of Lenin, captivating in terms of their depth and sharpness of aphorism, are answers to the question of how Mayakovskiy resolved the problem of the positive character. First among equals. Leading toward the great objective of mankind. This is what a detail in his portrait emphasizes: "Comrades! He raised his arm for the first of a hundred times, over their heads."

The main feature of the positive character in Mayakovskiy's works is ability for exploit for the sake of achieving the objective toward which Lenin led. This quality is detected by ordinary Soviet people, such as Teodor Nette and the workers at Kuznetskstroy.

Foreign interpreters of Mayakovskiy and "Sovietologists" who organically reject anything which the poet has contributed to world poetry as a singer of the new world, but who are helpless to conceal his contribution from mankind,

promote the version that he was a major poet only when he spoke of love for a woman, distorting at that the very feeling of love to which the poet indeed ascribed great importance. Unquestionably, the topic of love for a woman has been given a profound lyrical interpretation in the poems "Cloud in Breeches," "Flute-Backbone," and "For This." To begin with, however, not one of these poems shows the eternal topic of love merely as a self-expression of a feeling dominating the poet. Each one of them also bears a passionate denial of anything which degrades love, which turns it from a source of joy and happiness to a source of suffering. Each of the poems clearly states that the reasons for which love becomes distorted are found in the private ownership relations, philistine traditions or their vestiges ("For This").

Secondly, rarely in a poet has the feeling of love assumed such a tremendous and truly all-embracing and penetrating significance. "My love would redeem all..." he said about the earth, even before the October Revolution. His admission of his love for people was just as passionate in his early poems. Could it be that the jolting image "the handcuffs and love of thousands of years rattle in me..." would apply only to love for Mariya or Lila--the heroines of his earlier poems?!

The socialist revolution restored to the topic of love its life-asserting nature ("I Love"). Even in the poem "For This," in which the topic of unrequited love, and its interpretation assume a different tonality from that in the poem "Man," regardless of a remaining shade of tragedy. The programmatic requirement "...let love cover the entire universe" is inseparable from the demand "let the earth turn the moment someone shouts, Comrade!" Love in the poet is part of his program of struggle for the moral code of communism. Such is Mayakovskiy's range of love.

Naturally, the poem about Lenin--the man who pointed out the faultless road to communism and who dedicated his entire being to the reaching of this universal objective--is another expression of infinite love on the part of the people and the poet himself.

Mayakovskiy said that some of his poems are born in his head and others in his heart. The poem about Lenin proves the amazing unity between a concept and a most profound feeling.

It was precisely this that enabled Mayakovskiy to make his initial successful approach to the solution of the global problem of literature and art in the new historical epoch: to impress the feeling of eternity in the character of Lenin without violating the principle of historicism. The poet is convinced --as he repeats in all of his works on the topic of Lenin--that Lenin's accomplishment will live forever. He describes the leader on the scale of the planet and universal history and from the peaks of the future: "And wherever you may look the first thing you will see will be Lenin's head. It is the shining watershed from the slavery of dozens of millenia to the centuries of the commune."

Such is the image which, Mayakovskiy believes, should open the gallery of eternal portraits of the new era in the history of mankind.

The last of Mayakovskiy's finished poems "It Is Good!", also deals with love. It describes love for the homeland and his happiness to be its son, its citizen, its participant in all creative accomplishments and its blossoming. It is about love and happiness gained "in toil and in combat."

The "October Poem" consistently depicts reality as it is--specific-historical, with no hyperbole or fantasy. Everything which is taking place is so significant by itself that it does not need any transformation with the help of the setting borrowed from the heroic ancient epics, however tempting this may be. "Neither tales, nor epics," the poet proclaims.

But then how, through what poetic means could the greatness of a victory of universal significance be presented? Although Mayakovskiy said that he preferred imaginary to real facts, he approached the real facts as a poet, finding the beauty and greatness they contained.

"Heroically simple," was the way the poet himself defined his principle of work on the poem and in his broad canvas of the storming of the Winter Palace he depicts an elderly Putilov worker advising a boy who is trying to steal a clock. "You, boy, put back this stolen clock for it is now ours!" Or else he depicts Antonov-Ovseyenko who proclaims "as something quite simple and uncomplicated" the overthrow of the Provisional Government.

At the same time, with the help of the landscapes and expressive metaphors, Mayakovskiy creates an impression of the greatness of the events. The people, not the provisional but the true masters of the land and the universe, have won. These landscape characters are realistic: "The bayonets were shining like stars and the stars in heaven paled as they mounted guard." This was the morning of the victory of the revolution.

In his narration of the 10th anniversary of the socialist revolution, he focused his attention not on the outstanding events but on daily life. This might have concealed the threat of deheroization had it not been bound by the great idea of the birth and triumph of a new fatherland, a socialist fatherland unparalleled in previous history.

The principal gain of the revolution was the assertion of the true significance and purpose of man who had realized his inseparable unity with millions of working people. The alienated and homeless man, the convict which Mayakovskiy felt himself to be in his pre-October works, was now free. He was linked with other people and had a firm place on earth--his homeland.

This indivisible unity was lyrically crowned by the certainty that "life is beautiful and amazing."

Mayakovskiy always felt himself as though at the gates of the shining, sunny (his favorite adjective) world of the communist future. He felt he must protect this world from anyone encroaching on it or distorting its most precious and intimate features. Hence his satire, unparalleled since Saltykov-Shchedrin in terms of anger or skill of exposure of philistinism, bureaucracy, baseness, pomposity, sanctimoniousness and toadying....

The characteristic feature of this satire is that it combines political sharpness with moral exigency.

In his poems on capitalist America and Europe, behind the beautiful facade the eyes of the satirical poet sharply note depraved actions and inhuman relations ("Crosscut of a Skyscraper," "A Decent Citizen," "Black and White," and others).

In his satire of negative phenomena in Soviet reality vestiges of the past operating under the new conditions and undermining the still weak foundations of the new system and phenomena triggered by such vestiges which, however, present themselves as its support, are mercilessly satirized. In the satirical column "In Conference," Lenin, who rated this work highly, saw a mockery of the vestiges of Oblomovism. The satirical characters of Prisyarkin and Pobedonosikov, in the comedy "The Bedbug" and the drama "The Bath," and the original comedy genre which Mayakovskiy created are still awaiting, in the opinion of a number of directors and actors, their new interpretation on the stage.

In the circumstances of the group literary struggle of the 1920s, the poet did not always meet with approval. As a poet innovator, he opened virgin paths. He was a pioneer. The unusual nature of his discoveries irritated and triggered the hatred of those who, having created nothing worthy of their time, had appropriated the right to speak on behalf of the revolution and the proletariat and to question everything which Mayakovskiy accomplished in the name of communism--the main purpose of his life. That is why Mayakovskiy's last work was turned to his descendants--the readers in the communist future. However, this was not a self-consolation typical of some failures who felt ahead of their time. Mayakovskiy knew that he was in step with the time and he turned to the future generations to describe "the time and himself." The time, which changed its march under the influence of the revolution, was always great in his case. It was his time. The poem "At the Top of My Voice" is structured like a report submitted by the revolutionary poet to the highest and strictest "authority"--the party's Central Control Commission. The poet proudly describes his work as party-minded, investing in this definition what he considers most precious.

That is why the premature death of the poet only pleased his enemies without weakening his influence on the development of progressive world poetry. Wherever a struggle for socialism is being fought his work is accepted as a selfless exploit for the sake of the triumph of communism and his personality as an embodiment of the features of the new poet and person.

"We, the students of Mayakovskiy, the poets of the world," Nazym Hikmet said, "will always compare our work with his poetry and will pursue his cause the way the peoples of the world are following the path started by Russia--the homeland of communism, the homeland of the future."

Numerous such acknowledgments prove that to the definition which Mayakovskiy gave to his own work--"mobilized and summoned by the revolution"--history has added: "and acknowledged." This, in turn, is a prerequisite for immortality.

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DIALECTICS: CREATIVE LEGACY AND CREATIVE SEARCH

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[Review by V. Golobokov, candidate of philosophical sciences, of the works
(1) "Materialisticheskaya Dialektika kak Obshchaya Teoriya Razvitiya"
[Dialectical Materialism As a General Theory of Development]. Book I.
"Philosophical Foundations of the Theory of Development." Book II.
"Dialectics of Development of Scientific Knowledge." Nauka, Moscow, 1982;
(2) "Materialisticheskaya Dialektika" [Dialectical Materialism]. Volume I.
"Objective Dialectics." Volume II. "Subjective Dialectics." Mysl', Moscow,
1981-1982]

[Text] ... It is not a question of whether there is
motion but of how to express it in the logic of concepts.
--V. I. Lenin

Dialectics is described as the heart of Marxism. This is no simple metaphor. It is precisely thanks to dialectics that human knowledge acquires an organic unity, is in a state of continuous motion and development and penetrates into the very core of objects. Nurtured by the vital juices of creativity and nurturing it, dialectics, as the theoretical nucleus of Marxism-Leninism, is a necessary prerequisite for fruitful practical activities. That is why its problems are always in the center of attention of the Soviet scientists. This is newly confirmed by the multivolume studies by noted philosophers, currently published or being prepared for publication by the Nauka and Mysl' publishing houses and the Moscow University Press.

The characteristic feature of these multivolume publications is that, as a rule, they try to cover basic problems of a given theoretical discipline. The need for such works matures latently, long before immediate work has been done on them, in the course of the gradual accumulation of knowledge.

A number of works on dialectical problems have been published of late. They study its laws and categories and basic principles. They extensively cover the problem of dialectics as the logic and theory of knowledge. Active discussions are under way on basic dialectical problems and theoretical debates have broken out on some of them (such as the problem of the dialectical contradiction). Bearing in mind that the most promising method for resolving scientific problems is the adoption of a historical approach, the Soviet philosophers have engaged in basic studies in the field of the history of

dialectics, and the logical-methodological legacy of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, including Marx's book "Das Kapital." Many works on the logic of science, psychology and, partially, history of technology have made a considerable contribution to the development of the theory of dialectics. In a word, the Soviet scientists are developing dialectics within a broad range of scientific knowledge and in accordance with V. I. Lenin's instruction to the effect that "a continuation of Hegel's and Marx's work must be the dialectical development of the history of human thought, science and technology" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 29, p 131).

At the same time, as the results of such studies pile up, the need for the systematic presentation of dialectical categories and laws in their inner interrelationship became increasingly tangible. The fact that in the field of dialectics one cannot be limited to the study of individual principles, categories and laws became increasingly obvious. Thus, it was precisely that fact that became a characteristic result of the discussion on contradiction. The conclusion to one of the familiar collections of discussions, published lately, frankly says that success in further discussions on this problem will be largely determined by the extent to which the problem of contradictions will be considered within the broad context of the system of Marxist dialectics as a whole (see "Dialekticheskoye Protivorechiye" [Dialectical Contradiction]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1979, p 340). In other words, as research intensified it became increasingly clear that dialectics, as F. Engels said, is above all a "science of relations" (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 20, p 384) and that as such it should be presented in a suitable manner.

Naturally, the solution of such a tremendous problem is beyond the forces of a single person. It can be achieved only through the collective efforts of many scientists working in a state of closest possible interaction and in the same direction. That is why giving priority to the development of dialectics in its entirety requires, as a preliminary condition, the more efficient interpretation of its basic concepts and a more profound interpretation of classical philosophical legacy.

I

The consistent program for the development of dialectical materialism was formulated by Lenin. As we already mentioned, most generally it consists of the need for the dialectical interpretation of the history of human thought, science and technology. This does not mean in the least an effort to fit specific historical data within predetermined "dialectical" systems or general concepts. No, it means the study of the objects and phenomena in the objective world themselves, in their natural interrelationships and developments, and of the essence of objects.

However, a dialectical processing does not mean the dissolution of dialectics within the natural or socioscientific theories. It presumes the development of the theory of dialectics itself. According to Lenin, logic means "dialectic per se as a philosophical science" (op. cit., vol 29, p 248).

The first to provide a comprehensive conscious depiction of the universal forms of dialectical dynamics, according to Marx, was Hegel, regardless of misrepresentations. That is precisely why Hegel's "Science of Logic" became a subject of most thorough study by Lenin. "Hegel brilliantly guessed the dialectics of objects (phenomena, the world, nature) within the dialectics of concepts" (ibid., p 178). The guess itself does not allow us to reject off-hand the theory of the great idealist but forces us to look closely at the positive features of the theory. At the same time, this guessing applies above all to the content of the Hegelian system, to the dialectics of objects which becomes visible within the dialectics of concepts. As to the dialectics of concepts itself, it is something greater than the result of an accidental brilliant guess. It is based on the real history of human thought, as Lenin noted. "Clearly, Hegel takes the development of concepts and categories in connection with the entire history of philosophy. This provides yet another aspect to all Logic" (ibid., p 104).

Hegelian logic was based on many centuries of philosophical development. It was precisely on the basis of the history of philosophy that dialectics could appear as a theory, for the area of human knowledge which is focused on the study of the objective world more directly than philosophy--natural science--did not as yet provide (nor could it) a sufficient foundation for the appearance of such a theory (although then as well the idea of its development was already "hovering" in the minds of the best natural scientists). Furthermore, at a certain point, no progress in the natural sciences themselves becomes possible without mastering the results of the development of philosophy. "... The art of handling concepts," Engels wrote, "is not something innate. It does not come along with ordinary and daily awareness but requires real thinking which also has a long empirical history, as old as the history of the empirical study of nature. Once natural science has learned to master the results achieved through the development of philosophy over 2,500 years, it will be precisely this that will help it get rid, on the one hand, of any kind of separate, external nature philosophy and, on the other, of its own limited method of thinking inherited from English empiricism" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 20, p 14).

By virtue of its contemplative nature, the limited method of natural scientific thinking made it impossible to determine the inner connections between the developing object and could not help to conceive of development as a process. Aimed at the study of the general laws, features, characteristics and phenomena in the objective world, natural scientific thinking reflected them primarily by establishing similarities and distinctions between objects.

However, the processes which take place in nature, society and thinking are not simply different but substantially different. If we reflect them through direct comparisons and determinations of what binds them we become abstracted from the main features within each one of them, from that which constitutes their essence. For example, the laws of biological evolution are radically different from the laws of the history of society and man. To single out exclusively that which is common, which is inherent in social and organic life means ignoring the very nature of man, failure to understand his development and the process through which he is set apart from the animal kingdom.

The general concepts, categories and theories thus obtained are an abstraction from the very process of development of the reflected objects and phenomena within the objective world. As Marx wrote, "although the most developed languages have some laws and definitions they share with the least developed languages, it is precisely their distinctive nature compared to the universal and the general that represents their development" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 46, part I, p 21).

Consequently, development cannot be expressed as a process merely with the help of the general and the universal, obtained through abstraction from the individual and the separate. Development as a process and as a theory can be recreated specifically, i.e., as the unity between the general, the separate and the individual.

Knowledge of the world around us arrived at by singling out the abstract-universal is an essentially passive, contemplative knowledge. It not only does not allow us to determine the internal relations which exist within developing objects and phenomena but itself stops being an activity (subjectively); more precisely, cognitive activity itself acts only as contemplation, as the passive reflection (although generalized) of events. "The main shortcoming of all previous materialism, including that of Feuerbach, is that the object of reality and the senses is considered only as an object, or as a form of contemplation rather than as human sensory activity and practice. It is not subjective," Marx pointed out. "The result is that the active aspect, unlike materialism, was developed by idealism but only abstractly. This was natural, for idealism is unfamiliar with true sensory activity as such" (op. cit., vol 42, p 264).

Idealism (Hegelian mainly) developed the active nature of man in an abstract way, precisely because it singled out within human activity as an organically specific object, merely its most general feature--the ideal--although it considered the ideal itself in a specific and integral way, on the basis of the history of its development. The abstract nature of Hegelian philosophy consisted of the fact that theoretical thinking was acknowledged as the only possible creative activity. The objective reasons which determined the possibility of such an approach are rooted in the nature of human activities themselves or, more precisely, in a specific stage in their development.

The first and immediately apparent distinction between developed (rather than developing) human activity and the activity (if we could describe it as such) of animals is purposefulness, i.e., the ideal anticipation of results (see K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 23, p 189). The ideal anticipation itself is a result of previous activities. In other words, human activities are the organic integrity (or totality within which according to Marx, anything given has also a postulate. The ideal not only anticipates the result but guides the very process of human activities and, to a certain extent, influences the choice of its means. "Man," Marx wrote, "not only changes the form of what nature has given us; within that which nature has given us he also pursues his conscious objective which determines the means and nature of his actions like a law and which he must subordinate to his will" (ibid.)). Activities begin with the ideal and are regulated by it. The conscious

beginning is the common feature of all basic aspects of activity: object, the process of activity itself and the result as the embodiment of the target. It is precisely this feature that Hegel absolutized by proclaiming the mind and the spirit as the creator of everything extant.

However, theoretical activities are only an aspect of the transforming practices of mankind, developed through the changing of its specific historical forms and, in the final account, production methods. The clarification of this fact marks the beginning of the materialistic reworking of idealistic dialectics which, in Hegelian logic, is already the result of a summation of the history of human thought.

"One cannot fully understand Marx's 'Das Kapital,' its first chapter in particular, without having studied and understood Hegel's total Logic" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 29, p 162). This aphoristic statement of Lenin's not only rates Hegelian dialectics highly but notes the tremendous role of the classical work of Marxism in terms of its materialistic reinterpretation. It was precisely "Das Kapital" that offered a "specific logic for a specific object," i.e., a dialectical logic. However, this was diluted in economic data which means that its reworking had not been completed (Marx intended to write "Dialectics" after "Das Kapital"). It was Lenin who called for the need to crystallize dialectics within its logical aspect. "Although Marx did not leave us his 'Logic' (with a capital L) he left us his logic of 'Das Kapital,' which should be used strictly in this area" (ibid., p 301). In this sense, "Das Kapital" becomes not only a model for the application of the dialectical method to the study of a specific object but the most important stage in the materialistic reworking of idealistic dialectics.

Soviet philosophers have done a great deal in the direction pointed out by Lenin. Nevertheless, somehow the detailed development of problems of dialectical materialism had gradually pushed behind the problem of the development of dialectics in its specific and integral nature. Although the need for precisely such a development had been noted quite urgently at times, debates around it cooled off and as before, the presentation of dialectics as a certain compilation of categories (frequently paired), laws, and principles, which coexisted side by side, predominated. The appearance of the works under review (we shall discuss these two editions only) is a manifestation, in our view, of the topical need for a systematic and integral presentation of the basic problems of dialectics.

II

The four-volume study (1) covers an impressive range of problems. They include the philosophical foundations of the theory of development (Book I), the dialectics of scientific knowledge (Book II), the methodological significance of the principle of development in terms of contemporary natural and social sciences (Book III) and the dialectical laws of social development (Book IV). A meaningful consideration of the basic problems of dialectics and the close link established between scientific research and the topical tasks of social development are a very partial enumeration of the qualities of this interesting and useful publication. We shall not extend this list

but focus mainly on the prospects for further scientific research which open with the publication of such summing-up works and the difficulties which must be surmounted in the course of using such opportunities. We are interested mainly in the first two books, in which the theory of dialectics is specifically described.

The broad range of problems has enabled the authors to describe quite clearly the accomplishments of Soviet scientists in the field of dialectics, to sum up accomplishments, to define the directions for further research, to raise a number of most important questions and to provide substantiated criticism of metaphysical and idealistic concepts of development. However, such a broad approach must necessarily be based on a firm and solid nucleus of dialectical thinking--on the theory of dialectics itself--and the systematic implementation, identification and development of its fundamental principles, which are precisely the ones which make it a concrete and developing entity. Unfortunately, the authors have been unable entirely to surmount the conventional approach to the presentation of dialectics as a kind of sum total of principles, laws and categories coexisting side by side. This is not to say that they have failed to note their interrelationships. However, such relations are merely pointed out and named without being suitably interpreted. Whenever the authors have tried to identify, to develop internal dialectical relations or to present a given dialectical law as a process rather than a definition with a few illustrations, the attempt has been a fully or partially realized concept of the system of dialectics as a whole.

Movement and development as a process cannot be expressed by considering the dialectical laws, categories and principles separately. This is manifested most clearly in the presentation of dialectical laws and categories side by side. Here, essentially, the fact is ignored that the laws of dialectics are nothing but the motion, the internal links among its categories. As such, they can be identified only through the dynamics of the categories themselves.* The limitations of this article makes it necessary for us to discuss precisely the way the laws of dialectics are presented in the four-volume work.

The very sequence of the presentation of the material is important in the theoretical presentation of dialectics in its integrity, for a specific sequence also means the development of dialectics as an organic system.

The authors immediately open with the law of unity and struggle of opposites, i.e., with the very essence of the matter, for this law is the nucleus, the essence of dialectics. However, does this not constitute a "science before science?" For it is well-known that the essence is not found on the surface of phenomena, for which reason it cannot be reflected immediately and directly. It is true that the objection here could be that a presentation is not a

* How can one not remember here M. Gor'kiy's apt remark on Lenin's speech: "... Each one of his arguments developed by itself through its own inherent power" (M. Gor'kiy, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," in 25 volumes. Volume 20. Nauka, Moscow, 1974, p 15).

study and that which has already been discovered can be presented directly, as a result. In that case, however, the fact that this is the essence is either accepted on faith or should be interpreted through the process of the study of this essence. Therefore, it may have been better immediately to begin with the latter, with the area of direct relations, and subsequently turn to the profound, the essential relations. Only in this case could the requirement noted by Lenin be met: "Categories must be derived (not chosen arbitrarily or mechanically) (neither 'describing' nor 'asserting' but proving)..." (op. cit., vol 29, p 86).

The consideration of the law itself is achieved as follows: initially it is simply formulated as the unity and struggle of opposites, after which its main features are described--the opposites--and, finally, the interaction between these features is indicated (yes, precisely indicated rather than disclosed). Therefore, we are not told what it is that remains unclear and why it is that said contradictions presume their reciprocal existence and why they interact. This too must be accepted on faith. Furthermore, as ever-new features, aspects and characteristics are introduced, an increasing number of questions arise to which no answer is provided. All of them, one way or another, are related to problems of reproduction of development precisely as a process. Indeed, the division of development into a motive force (leading contradiction) and its source (contradiction), along with the already asked question of the nature of development of the struggle between opposites and what triggers it leads to the following question: by virtue of what does the leading contradiction develop? Development as such escapes us and the basic dialectical law is converted into a set of features and characteristics. Some of them constitute the foundations of the division of contradictions and opposites. Naturally, all of this gives a certain idea of the law of unity and the struggle of opposites. However, it is quite insufficient for such an idea to become an understanding of said law.

Whenever an object of study is broken down into a number of characteristics, features, sides and varieties...the need for classification inevitably arises, for classification alone can counter to a certain extent the chaos caused by this infinite multiplicity. By virtue of the infinite variety of features and aspects of reality, such classification can never be complete. The need to classify the types of contradictions is mentioned by the authors of the work who consider the partial classification as the result of insufficient development (see Book I, p 263). The very fact of its incompleteness, as noted by the authors, enables them subsequently to avoid finding a total solution to the problem. Let us use the same method and focus only on contradictions which we (along with the authors) consider important. These are the objective contradictions and the contradictions of knowledge.

True to their analytical approach, the authors raise the question only of the need to distinguish between these contradictions rather than their dialectical unity. Here the link itself remains unidentified. Furthermore, it is not even mentioned. The task of determining which of the contradictions is objective and which contradicts knowledge is left to others. "The affiliation of one contradiction or another with life or knowledge," the authors say, "is determined on the basis of a meaningful study of the following

question: is the contradiction a source of movement and development of the object or a source of its knowledge?" (ibid., p 264). The authors further explain what a thorough analysis means. However, they explain this only with the example of mechanics. The abandonment of a philosophical solution of the problem is obvious, as obvious as the fact that they merely distinguish among contradictions without studying their interconnection.

The authors have also structured a classification of contradictions in knowledge which cannot be complete by virtue of the fact that the "number of varieties of internal contradictions within knowledge is infinite, since dialectics is inexhaustible" (Book II, p 159). Knowledge itself as a process is lost behind the set of kinds and types of contradictions.

After the law of unity and struggle of opposites, the four-volume work considers the law of the conversion of quantitative into qualitative changes. With an overall prevailing approach which ignores the internal links among dialectical laws and categories, suffice it to say that the new law, compared with the preceding one, supplements and "concretizes" (i.e., details) and shows another aspect (or facet) of the objective world and could be described without any further mention of the preceding law. That is precisely what the authors do, as they undertake their study of the law of conversion of quantitative into qualitative changes (see Book IV, p 277). Bearing this in mind, let us try to determine the extent to which the new law is depicted as a process or, in other words, what is the internal link between quality and quantity.

From the viewpoint of Hegelian logic, the question we ask appears, to say the least, strange, for to Hegel the area of action of the law of qualitative-quantitative changes is an area of most superficial relations ("existence") which merely establishes that something is, it simply exists, is "extant." Initially, this is merely established and given, for the internal tie between quantity and quality becomes apparent in converting from the area of the essence (the category of "measure" is the beginning of the conversion from superficial to profound and internal relations). This is why Hegel deems it important to begin with the area in which the simplest law of dialectics primarily operates. Let us note, incidentally, that this applies not to Hegel alone. Based on the study of a specific object carried out by Marx in "Das Kapital," Lenin notes that the presentation of dialectics in general must also begin with what is most simple, usual, basic, common, most ordinary, encountered billions of times (see op. cit., vol 29, p 318).

Nevertheless, the question of the internal link between quality and quantity, as already formulated, has a substantiation. To begin with, by virtue of the authors' sequence in considering the laws of dialectics, and since initially they give us an understanding of its nature through the law of unity and struggle of opposites, naturally, subsequently it should be used in the more specific disclosure of the development process with the help of the law of the conversion of quantitative into qualitative changes. Secondly, whereas in the sequence of the manifestations of the categories of quality and quantity we observe their external, their surface connection, with the help

of the "measure" category we clarify the internal connection which intensifies with a conversion to a qualitatively different level of knowledge of the developing object, to the area of its essence.

The external simplicity of the law of conversion of quantitative into qualitative changes makes it a law the action of which various philosophers have described essentially with the help of the same set of categories: "quality," "quantity," and "measure." In the work under consideration the authors have added "organization" and "structure."

Having established the connection between quality and quantity within a measure which is defined quantitatively as a range of changes consistent with the invariability of the specific quality (see Book I, p 279), the authors immediately undertake to consider the concept of structure. Although they use it to emphasize the significance of relations among elements within the entity, the type of relations remains undisclosed.

According to the authors, the concept of structure should describe in greater detail the qualitative definition of the objects (ibid., p 282); it must be described above all as a more profound, as an integrated, base, for each object is multiqualitative and multisystemic (see ibid., pp 281-282). "The point is," they note, "that on a theoretical level of knowledge the quality definition of objects is enriched and intensified as we penetrate to various depths into the various structures of objects--their static structure, dynamics of functioning, behavior and development, characteristics, conditions and relations. This multiplicity of structures is combined within a certain integral structure of the object" (ibid., p 283). However, the authors do not tell us how to combine this multiplicity within a single integral structure. The result is that they stop the moment they come close to the core of the problem, as a result of which the object breaks down once again into a multiplicity of different structures.

The very concept of "structure" is considered only an aspect of the stability of relations and ties (ibid., p 280), whereas development (or leaps) are, according to the authors, disturbances in the balance of relations among the elements of the structure. As to what the reasons are for this disturbance and how it occurs, the question remains unanswered. Instead, we come across with the familiar variant of classifying leaps into "explosive" and "gradual" depending on whether or not all the elements within the structure experience changes.

According to the authors, the concept of "structure" is needed to "concretize" the "measure" category. This reveals their aspiration to identify the internal relations within a developing object. In fact, however, as we saw, this concept leads to a further abstraction from development as a process, an abstraction from the process of development of such relations. The "concretizing" of measure is converted into a concept of the measure as an external feature, an external characteristic which helps us to identify development. The measure is its external limit: qualitative and quantitative changes, relations among elements and even the development of the contradiction itself (which turns them into "details" for which reason, apparently, they have been

omitted). "Briefly stated," the authors summarize, "development is a sequence of irreversible quantitative and qualitative changes of an open system of interacting objects which develop in the course of the general line of change of this system beyond its own historical time" (ibid., p 295). What does this definition lead to? Obviously, the only possible one: as long as a system (object) has not lasted its allocated (by whom?) time, it is impossible to say whether it is developing or not, for one cannot compute the "synthetic effect of individual movements" (ibid., p 297) which, precisely, constitute development. For the time being the "total time of the existence of the system" is unknown and so is the number of "local movements."

As we saw, the authors' "concretizing" of the understanding of dialectics (a more "concrete" theoretical clarification of development) with the help of the law of the conversion of quantitative into qualitative change has been reduced to displaying yet another facet, mark and feature of the development process. Along with the law of unity and the struggle of opposites there also operates a law of transition (how?) of quantitative into qualitative change (we already saw how it "operates").

We did not put the word "concretizing" in quotes for no reason, for the most suitable word here would have been "addition." Concretizing means when a subsequent event "eliminates" a preceding one, i.e., when it includes it within itself as a simpler aspect, but as an aspect which is retained within each movement of the subsequent one. In our case, something else (the law of transition of quantitative into qualitative change) is simply added to the previous one (the law of unity and struggle of opposites).

That is precisely the way the interconnection among the laws of dialectics is described in the chapter on its third and final law--negation of the negation. "Whereas the law of unity and struggle of opposites indicates (indicates--and that is all!--the author) the source of development, while the law of transition of quantitative into qualitative change and vice versa indicates one of the aspects (nature of the stage) of the appearance of the new in the course of development, the law of negation of the negation covers the integral form and inner structure of the development process interconnected with its main phases and the single mechanism of its ascent to a synthesis through the resolution of contradictions" (ibid., p 300). Therefore, the first two laws merely supplement each other, while the third should describe development in its integrity. And although in this chapter the question of the ties among dialectical laws and categories is as a whole limited to this statement (which makes the specific reproduction of development impossible), it can be formulated in terms of content.

We particularly discussed the interconnection among dialectical laws to emphasize that today their presentation side by side is quite insufficient. The dynamics itself is lost with such a presentation despite the fact that the formulations, the basic definitions of the laws may be accurate.

Taken as a process, a dialectical law constitutes a systematic conversion from one category to another and is revealed through categories. To present basic laws in their development means to describe the internal connection

among all dialectical categories, which are merely aspects and nodules of a single development process. In this sense all basic laws of dialectics are also theories such as integrity and specificity.

If we bear in mind that in this work, along with the chapters on the various laws, there also are chapters on the principles and categories in dialectics, we see even more clearly that dialectics itself is broken down here into its own elements, so to say, and that the theory of development is mainly a sum total of its features, characteristics and general concepts. The result is the loss of the advantage which this rather strong group of authors enjoyed over existing philosophy works: the possibility of presenting the theory of dialectics as an integral system of categories in their inner interrelationships. However, the fact that the basic categories and laws have been combined within this work in itself has a major positive significance: it shows more clearly the need to develop dialectics in its integrity. This multi-volume work is good food for thought and inspires us again and again to seek the "advice" of the Marxist-Leninist classics.

III

Unlike the authors of this four-volume work, the authors and editors of the five-volume (2) do not discuss development in general but the development of the material object, obviously assuming (quite justifiably) that motion (development) cannot be separated from its carrier. The authors of this work have tried to structure the theory of dialectics precisely around the concept of "material object." We see here their aspiration to present dialectical principles, categories and laws not side by side but within a single internal interconnection.

However, the material object, as conceived by the author, is not a real object, phenomenon or process occurring in reality but an object in general, a model of existing real objects. Such a "model" of a material object is nothing but a "self-coordinated system of attributes which characterize the content of any material object existing in a variety of specific forms" (vol 1, p 97).

What does this "model" consist of? It consists of the same abstractions, general concepts, features, characteristics and so on. The "material object" is presented as the result of handling such abstractions, while dialectics is described as the theory of such handling. Incidentally, that is precisely how the authors conceive of it. Running throughout the entire book we find statements such as "the basic laws of dialectics are used as the main instrument in structuring a system of categories of dialectical materialism" (ibid., p 266).

The result is that the authors find themselves in a vicious circle: on the one hand, in order for the internal ties among categories and laws to be objective, they must study a real material object; on the other, they proceed not from a real existing object but from an object which must as yet be created.

In enumerating the principles of dialectics, the authors formulate the first among them as follows: "...The starting point of any research (related to practice) is always a certain material object" (ibid., p 20). However, a certain material object or an object in general is a meaningless abstraction. Therefore, the authors presume, it must be given attributes or universal characteristics. This also requires a set of tools with the help of which these attributes could be combined within a certain entity. Therefore, the starting point taken by the authors of this multivolume publication is not a concrete object but its abstraction--a 'material object'--along with a set of attributes and means of handling them. That is why the authors describe as "dialectical principles" everything discussed at the beginning part of the first volume. The balance deals with a more detailed description of each of the elements of their selection. All of this, taken together, is presented as the theory of objective dialectics.

The key to structuring this theory "is the 'splitting' of the object into phenomenon and essence" (ibid., p 372).

However, there is no "split" whatever, for there is nothing to split. One cannot split a mere abstraction before it has been given attributes. Therefore, the actual split turns into the addition of two "most complex attributes." "... The material object," the authors write, "is the unity of phenomenon and essence; all other attributes (quality, change, law, possibility, causality, etc.) characterize various features (fragments) of these most complex attributes or else various aspects of their interrelationship" (ibid., p 27).

Having supplemented the "material object" with attributes, the authors then proclaim them the "starting point of knowledge." "... The material object," they suggest, "faces the researcher above all as the unity of phenomenon and essence" (ibid., p 113). At this point we must object, for it is on this thesis that the entire subsequent presentation of the authors' idea of the study of the essence is based. Any object initially presents itself to the subject studying it simply as something which exists. What remains is to determine what phenomenon does it encompass, what is its nature and, finally, what is the unity between them. The authors assume that from the very beginning the subject distinguishes between phenomenon and essence and that all that it takes is to analyze both. According to them, the study of phenomena presents no difficulty and is reduced to the problem of observation and clarity or, briefly, to something which can be described. Essence is a different matter! Here the problem becomes far more complex.

The study of the essence, the authors presume, begins with the abstraction of separating: the common, the similar features are determined through comparisons among objects and phenomena in the objective world. We then apply the abstraction of identification, as a result of which "the multiplicity of similar features 'blends' within a single similar feature" (ibid., p 122), i.e., a purely empirical concept of the object is created. The authors are absolutely right in saying that one cannot stop there.

We already pointed out that determining the universal and the common by singling out similar features means essentially a distraction from the development process itself. Universal abstractions alone cannot help us to understand a single specific entity or theoretically to reproduce development as a process. The most general (simple) concepts in dialectics are the base, the foundation, the prerequisite for the existence and development of the specific entity. They encompass the fact that organic integrity is the result of the preceding development of qualitatively different formations, less developed compared to it. However, as a prerequisite for the existence of the specific entity, even the simplest relations and ties are reproduced through its dynamics. They are not simply reproduced but are reproduced in their abstract universality. That is why general concepts are features of specificity and integrity. Even the simplest abstraction, Marx pointed out, although "expressing a most ancient relations applicable to all forms of society, nevertheless operates within this abstraction of the practical truth only as a category of the most advanced society" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 46, part I, p 41). To reduce all knowledge merely to the definition of such abstractions means to be satisfied merely with the simplest results of the dynamics and development, abstracted from the development process itself. Development as a process cannot be understood outside the specific entity. Furthermore, general abstractions cannot be used as a basis for determining the nature of a given specific entity.

In bourgeois society, for example, commodity relations are the simplest and most widespread of all, although the essence of the capitalist production method is the production of added value through the exploitation of hired labor. Although commodity relations existed even prior to the bourgeois production method, they became universal and imbued all social relations only on its basis. It is with this most simple relation that Marx begins his "Das Kapital." A consideration of the exchange between the owner of productive capital and manpower, based on the law of value, means a conversion from the realm of surface relations to that of essential ones. The secret of the production of added value cannot be unraveled without the clarification of the essence of this exchange. Therefore, the study of surface relations is used in Marx's "Das Kapital" as a necessary stage in determining the nature of a specific object, the self-dynamics of which will reproduce these relations as most simple and universal. The reproduction of the specific entity in its development or (which is one and the same) the reproduction of development in its entirety and concreteness represent the ascension from the abstract to the concrete. In the opposite case development is deadened and turns into a collection of features, principles, characteristics, categories, laws and operations....

How do the authors of this five-volume work make a "leap" from phenomenon to essence and from empirical abstraction to theoretical concept? They accomplish this with the help of the so-called abstraction of substitution, in which an empirically clear concept is replaced by an unclear structure, which "is the product of creative imagination (and, consequently, unlike empirical concepts, is not "derived" from experience" (vol 1, p 125). We are unwilling to belittle the role of creative imagination and artistic inspiration in scientific knowledge. However, to replace the latter with imagination is

equally impossible, for it would be the equivalent of abandoning science and philosophy as a science. According to the authors' system (the table of "identification" of the various essences is found on pp 130-131), A. Smith and D. Ricardo, the classics of bourgeois political economy, lacked only Marx's imagination to create the speculative structure of added value.

Knowledge of the object means its description and interpretation, the authors assume. The first is satisfied with empirical abstractions (natural scientific knowledge); the second creates speculative structures (philosophy). Therefore, the object of knowledge is to supplement one with the other. "The nature of the essence can be clarified neither with the help of truly speculative views of a historical-philosophical nature nor purely empirical excursions of a historical-scientific nature" (ibid., p 116). As a result, the entire study of the essence is reduced to a supplement aimed at the search for an objective analog of a speculative structure (see ibid., pp 126-127). Therefore, the "leap" from phenomenon to essence becomes literal: from empirical description to speculative fantasy and then to detection within reality of the traces ("analogs") of the latter. This break between phenomenon and essence is adopted by the authors as the "key" to the elaboration of the theory of dialectics. They conceive of this theory as a structure created through the imagination of the authors from an initial set of principles, categories and laws.

The prevalence of the method of "splitting" of the "material object" between the two volumes of this work becomes, in the final account, the very method used to present the principles, laws and categories of dialectics on a parallel basis, as a result of which the theory does not depict or present its dynamics and development.

The extent to which this development as a process is lost to the authors can be judged, for example, by the way they distinguish between the laws of functioning and development. "The contraposition (of these laws--the author)," the book says, "is based on the fact that the laws of functioning express the feature of rest, stability and dynamics of the material object, while, conversely, the laws governing development express the change within this material object and the irreversibility of such changes" (ibid., p 229). To begin with, function is not an aspect of dynamics but merely movement within a specific form and as such it is also a combination of stability with variability. Secondly, the same could be said of development. To conceive of it only as an abstract feature of motion, such as variability, means killing what is alive.

When the authors discuss the "speculative" nature of philosophy, they have in mind above all Hegel's philosophical system. We already pointed out at the beginning of this article that the dialectics of Hegelian concepts was not the result of his imagination. It is based not on a fictitious structure of the "material object" but on real human thought with its history, taken out of the single process of practical activities and absolutized (hoaxed) by Hegel.

And whereas Hegel, as Marx said, was the first to provide an all-embracing depiction of the universal forms of dialectics, Marx himself removed the hoaxing idealistic cover from it through his study of the specific object--the bourgeois production method. It was by this token that the founders of Marxism offered a guideline for the further materialistic reworking of idealistic dialectics. Lenin, who indicated this guideline, formulated a program for the development of the theory of dialectics in its integrity.

This task, set by Lenin, becomes particularly important today, for the desire of contemporary scientists to cover philosophical problems broadly seems to have pushed into the background dialectics in its specific and integral nature.

These publications on dialectics are the result of the efforts of a large group of scientists. They contain a great deal of valuable, interesting and useful thoughts on one scientific problem or another. However, one expects of such publications something else as well: not only the formulation of specific problems and progress in the development of basic principles but the systematic implementation of such principles and their development within a single integral theory.

Dialectical logic is not the sum total of individual laws, categories and rules for handling them but a single entity which is alive and pulsing. The specific nature of dialectical logic is that through the internal interconnection among its categories it protects the combined process of research and development. Furthermore, the dynamics of logical forms as summed-up human theoretical activities reflects human practice and activity in the transformation of the surrounding world. That is why the task of expressing motion through the logic of concepts, the importance of which Lenin emphasized, is also a task of surmounting the contemplative approach in knowledge. Since development processes in nature, society and thinking cannot be theoretically determined through their direct summation, the question of their reproduction in their universal (logical) form arises.

The dialectical method impressed in logic is the quintessence of previous spiritual development of mankind. Whereas the history of philosophy is an irreplaceable school of thought, dialectical logic is the concentrated result of such studies, a working tool thanks to which all previous knowledge lives in each act of current research.

The development of dialectics in its specific and integral nature means rising to the level of its understanding by the classics of Marxism-Leninism. This is a necessary although difficult task. The use of ready-made knowledge developed by the outstanding philosophers is insufficient. One must master such knowledge along with the method through which it was gained. Only those who, fearing no fatigue, will follow the rocky trails laid by the outstanding philosophers of the past, will not lose reliable support for further progress.

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TECHNICAL PROGRESS AND RESERVES IN THE CONSTRUCTION COMPLEX

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pp 125-126

[Review by Prof V. Krasovskiy of the book "Ekonomika Stroitel'stva na Novom Etape" [New Stage in Construction Economics]. Edited by I. N. Dmitriyev, V. G. Lebedev, P. D. Podshivalenko and A. F. Rumyantsev. Authors: I. N. Dmitriyev (head), P. B. Antonevich, B. S. Bushuyev, I. A. Bystrov, V. P. Kolosov, I. K. Komarov, A. I. Mitrofanov, P. D. Podshivalenko, N. I. Prikshaytis, A. F. Rumyantsev and I. A. Sukhachev. Mysl', Moscow, 1982, 352 pp]

[Text] Huge funds are being invested in the development of the economy and in housing and consumer project construction in our country. Their efficient use is a task of exceptional importance. "Nevertheless," as was pointed out at the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "many problems remain... Putting capital construction in order is one of the main national economic tasks." Scientific research plays a great role in resolving such problems.

Noteworthy in this connection is the recently published work under review. This is not a strictly sectorial publication, for it includes concepts and recommendations on major socialist reproduction problems and conclusions on the need to reorganize the activities of all participants in the investment process.

The book begins with a discussion of the tasks of the investment complex in the light of the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress, at which it was pointed out that "Increasing the country's economic potential depends to a decisive extent on the condition of capital construction." It is precisely capital construction that ensures the steady and increasingly expanding scale of productive and nonproductive capital. Both account for the bulk of the country's national wealth which, in turn, enables us to assess the economic power of the state.

The monograph covers extensively problems of party management of capital construction. The authors analyze the progressive experience acquired by the party organizations in Moscow, Leningrad, the Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan and Georgia, Rostov and Sverdlovsk Oblasts and Bashkiriya. Considerable attention is paid to improving the organization of control over the implementation of assignments and the development of socialist competition at construction sites. It is also noted that in some places the faulty practice

of passing numerous repeated decrees on the same topics remains. This frequently proves the weakened exigency of many party committees and heads of central departments toward individuals guilty of the nonimplementation of previous resolutions. It is precisely this which explains frequent extensions of deadlines for the completion of a number of most important projects.

Problems of upgrading the effectiveness of capital investments are discussed quite interestingly. We know that compared with the highest world standards, we spend more raw materials and energy per unit of national income. It may be possible to increase the output of finished products on the basis of available resources. The authors accurately point out that "A course toward efficiency means that increased labor productivity must initially secure most and subsequently the entire increase in output in all economic sectors and increase the national income correspondingly. It is necessary to find and include in the production process reserves for the growth of the national income and prevent all possible losses of labor and materials" (p 87).

A proper orientation in matters of determining the efficiency of public production and capital investments and the selection of corresponding criteria and indicators assumes great significance. Let us emphasize that the practical methods applied in defining the economic efficiency of production and the indicators for its determination must contribute above all to upgrading social labor productivity. The indicators of capital returns, the norms determining the efficiency of capital investments, recovery time and other matters must be considered in close connection with the latter.

Our economic publications have discussed for a long time the problem of using capital investment efficiency norms in economic computations. According to some economists, their practical utilization would prevent the extensive application of the achievements of technical progress and, consequently, the growth of labor productivity. We disagree. Actually, the efficiency norms resemble a "plan requirement" of upgrading labor productivity in sectors using new equipment. When we supply enterprises with new machinery we must have the guarantee that as a result of their technological-labor ratio a certain increase in labor productivity will be achieved. These requirements apply not only to efficiency norms but to the norms of utilization of material resources and capital returns and are an important investment policy element.

Let us note that the new method documents which came out in 1981 stipulate a conversion to determining efficiency on all levels on the basis of the net and normative-net output. The monograph authors essentially use the new efficiency indicators computed on the basis of the net output. The monograph recommends that the effect of long-range comprehensive programs be computed on a cumulative basis for the period within which its total is equal to or exceeds the sum of capital investments (see p 94).

Interesting considerations are expressed by the authors on the need to expand the investment role of machine building. They suggest that machine building enterprise become involved in assembling the equipment they deliver, in start-up operations and in setting up a centralized firm repair service. They emphasize in this connection that delivered and commissioned equipment should be considered the end product of suppliers of machines and mechanisms.

The authors justifiably criticize the view of many construction economists, who claim that reducing construction time increases construction costs, which should be reimbursed to the construction workers in the guise of special "supplements." Such economists also call for setting up compensation funds over and above cost estimates. In a real economic situation, however, cost increases are precisely the result of long construction time, as a result of which the equipment becomes "morally obsolete" because of long years of unfinished work. The brigade method clearly proves the far-fetchedness of the "inevitable cost increase concept" in construction. Cost effectiveness brigades conserve material and other resources and at the same time considerably reduce construction time.

The authors discuss in detail tasks related to upgrading the organizational-technical standard and improving construction management. They justifiably emphasize the development of progressive organizational forms in construction, such as delivering to the customer industrial and other projects ready for use, which should be considered the finished product. This method began to be applied during the 8th Five-Year Plan. To this effect house-building combines were created and the manufacturing of structures and parts and their delivery and assembly were combined within a single technological process. Such a method yields significant economic results. It accelerates the production process, reduces building costs and upgrades quality. The authors have also concentrated on improvements in construction cost estimates and capital investment planning.

The high quality of plans, the authors note, is a prerequisite for fast and economical construction, efficient organization of the work, environmental protection and variety in the architectural appearance of the country's towns and settlements. The old procedure applied in this area was inconsistent with modern requirements. A great deal of time was spent in designing, the amount of documents was increased needlessly and the process of design coordination was exceptionally complicated. As a result of this a number of projects became obsolete in the course of their design and construction and construction costs increased significantly. In this connection, the authors consider in detail the new tasks in designing, in the light of the March 1981 decree of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers.

The authors make a profound study of problems of labor productivity in construction, the increase of which depends on a number of factors, brigade contracting above all. This means that, after initialing a contract with the construction and assembly administration, the brigade undertakes not only to perform its assigned volume of work but to ensure with the help of subcontractors the complete construction of the project and preparations for delivery for use within the planned time. In turn, the construction administration undertakes to supply the brigade and related units with all required working conditions. A communist attitude toward labor, concern for the economical use of material resources and a feeling of high responsibility for improving the quality of construction and end work results have become the distinguishing features of such brigades. The authors wind up this topic with a very meaningful survey of the progressive experience of comprehensive brigades working on the basis of the brigade contracting method.

In conclusion, the authors consider the organization of economic work in construction. In this case the study of problems related to the greater use of enterprise and bank funds for purposes of expanded reproduction is of great interest. The volumes of capital investments of the individual enterprise, sector and economic rayon are correlated with the financial results of their work.

The monograph is a very meaningful scientific study of topical problems of capital construction and the overall investment process.

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WORKING CLASS AND BOURGEOIS STATE

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pp 127-128

[Review by A. Shutov, candidate of historical sciences, of the book "SShA: Gosudarstvo i Rabochiy Klass" [United States: Government and Working Class] by N. V. Sivachev. Mysl', Moscow, 1982, 342 pp]

[Text] The situation of the working class in the industrially developed capitalist countries, the forms and methods of its struggle for its rights and interests, the role of the trade union and political organizations of the proletariat in the class struggle and the nature of the labor policy practiced by the bourgeois state are problems which have always greatly interested the readers. Such questions, as they apply to the United States, are considered in detail in N. V. Sivachev's monograph published by Izdatel'stvo Mysl'.

The main topic of the monograph -- the policy of the bourgeois state toward the working class -- is one of the topical questions in contemporary historical science, around which discussions and debates among sociologists of varying opinions continue unabated. Let us note, first of all, that the author has proved the groundlessness of the theory of the "above-class" nature of the capitalist state thoroughly and with proper arguments, from the positions of Marxism-Leninism. He clearly emphasizes the thought that the role of the bourgeois state has never been reduced to holding the neutral position of some kind of "justice of the peace." Its task has had a class limitation: to formulate and carry out a broad set of measures aimed at ensuring optimal conditions for the exploitation of the working class by the capitalist and to preserve and strengthen private ownership relations. The labor policy of the bourgeois state pursues no other aims.

Proceeding from these basic concepts, the author analyzes the policy of the American state toward the working class against a broad historical background. His study ranges from the end of the 18th century, when the United States was founded during the war of independence and almost to the present. This approach enables him to define within the "proletariat-bourgeois state" formula certain specific features and traits characteristic precisely of the labor movement and the state power in the United States. It enables him to consider from a new angle the reasons which have determined the durability and strength of the anticommunist feelings within the labor and trade union movements in the country. This sui generis type of "worker anticommunism" was

manifested most shamefully in particular during the dirty war which American imperialism waged in Vietnam.

The shaping of the policy of the capitalist class in the labor area is traced from the first sporadic steps taken by the American bourgeoisie, mainly of a judicial-legal nature, aimed at suppressing labor organizations (use of the "criminal conspiracy" doctrine) to its establishment of a widespread system of measures aimed at influencing these organizations. Such was the path it followed.

The author describes the existing system of permanent state institutions -- legislative-administrative regulations of labor conditions, social insurance and relief, and legally sanctioned collective contracts and arbitration. In the area of labor relations these institutions are only part of the labor policy of the monopoly bourgeoisie and the state. This policy, however, includes also an entire series of extralegal methods of influencing the working class.

By praising institutionalization, bourgeois propaganda is trying to conceal the true holders of economic and political power. To this effect it is encouraging among the workers the illusion of the "above-class" nature of the state. With the help of apologetic theories and tendentiously selected arguments and facts from various sociological studies it is nurturing this idea patiently and carefully.

The efforts of the author to provide a comprehensive review of the various features of the antilabor policy of the American state are noteworthy. Freezing minimal wages under the pretext of fighting inflation, reducing funds for health care, education and housing construction and curtailing social programs, which dooms millions of people to a standard of life below the official poverty line, are the specific manifestations of the socioeconomic aspect of the policy of the state toward the working people. The author proves that the working people in the United States are not granted the right to work and that the ruling class is unable to grant them this right or, even less so, to guarantee it. As Gus Hall, U.S. Communist Party secretary general has noted, there are 30 million fully or partially unemployed people in the country. Nor is the ruling class able to ensuring the working people a minimum living standard through old-age or unemployment benefits. To begin with, the benefits are low; secondly, unemployment compensations have a time limit; thirdly, many citizens are outside the social security system.

As to the ideological content of the antilabor policy, it is reduced to sermons on American "exclusivity," American "superiority" and, above all, "class peace" and the "common interests" of labor and capital. The purpose of these and similar concepts is to develop in the minds of the working people firm beliefs regarding the "permanence" and "inviolability" of capitalism and the fact that any social change is unnecessary and even harmful.

The author exposes the spiritual poverty and hypocrisy of American bourgeois science which, using worn-out propaganda stereotypes, tries to draw the toiling masses away from the class struggle. In particular, he proves that extensively used slogans such as "people's capitalism" and "equal rights

society" are an extension of the apologetic theories of the past. They include elements of a century-old social Darwinism, according to which in society as in nature it is the strongest and the most adaptable who prevails, that the path to riches is open to anyone, that all it takes are "hard work" and "decency," etc.

The author traces in detail the activities of the American trade unions and their interrelationships with the big American bourgeoisie and the ruling circles. Like the first labor union in the United States -- the American Federation of Labor (AFL), whose leadership was corrupted by the bourgeoisie -- the current AFL-CIO, headed by the frank anticommunist Lane Kirkland, is pursuing a conciliationist policy rather than engaging in the true defense of the vital rights and interests of the working people.

In discussing the reasons for the conciliationist policy of the trade union leadership, the author notes that the mass labor movement in the United States developed from the very beginning under the insufficient influence of socialist organizations. That is precisely why the degeneration of the trade union leadership in the country assumed a particularly noticeable scale.

However, the course of class cooperation with the entrepreneurs followed by the reactionary trade union bureaucrats cannot, naturally, simply uproot the class struggle motives from the life of the American trade unions. It is unable to eliminate the antagonism between labor and capital. Whatever improvements the American worker was able to gain were the result of persistent struggle and privations. This aspect of the problem is extensively discussed in the work.

Currently, the Republican Administration headed by President Reagan has mounted an unparalleled offensive against the basic rights of the American working people and the U.S. working class has found itself in an even worse situation.

The work is noteworthy for the novelty of sources put into scientific circulation. A number of data, including those in the tables, are published for the first time.

N. V. Sivachev's monograph is a serious study of the history of the American labor movement.

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